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USSR Report

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No. 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 1982



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21 May 1982

USSR REPORT

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No. 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 1982

Translation of the Russian-language journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA published quarterly in Moscow by the Institute of Sociological Research, USSR Academy of Sciences.

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COOPERATION WITH SCIENCE OF HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANOYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 3-6

/Article: "Strengthen the Cooperation With Science of Higher Educational Institutions"/

/Text/ The consolidation of all the creative forces of Soviet social science in the interests of the most effective elaboration of the fundamental problems of the present stage of the building of communism is necessary for the accomplishment of the complicated and responsible tasks which were set for the social sciences by the 26th CPSU Congress. At the All-Union Conference of the Heads of the Chairs of Social Sciences (October 1981) M. A. Suslov emphasized that "the theses formulated by the party about mature socialism as a natural and lengthy historical stage, about the far from exhausted possibilities of the progress of our society within the first phase of communism are providing a mighty stimulus for the further development of the social sciences." The latter are called upon to promote in every possible way the identification and realization of these possibilities, the improvement of socioeconomic relations, the social structure, the economic mechanism, the system of management, ideological and political educational work. The importance of scientific research under the conditions of mature socialism is dictated by the fact that the leading force of our society--the Communist Party of the Soviet Union--organizes all its activity on the basis of the detailed scientific analysis of the trends of social development.

In evaluating the labor of scientists, the party proceeds from the fact that "science should be a constant 'disturber of the peace,' showing in what sections stagnation and a lag have been noticed, where the present level of knowledge makes it possible to advance more rapidly, more successfully." In performing this extremely important function under present conditions, science is becoming a necessary component of the present management mechanism, a more and more effective factor both of technical and economic progress and of social progress. A mandatory condition of the increase of the role of science in the implementation of the socioeconomic program elaborated by the 26th CPSU Congress, as well as in the communist education of workers is the increase of the effectiveness of scientific research itself and the strengthening of its contact with practice. Inasmuch as the essence of the latter is the embodiment of the ideals of communism, efficiency now functions as the main manifestation of the adherence of science to Communist Party principles.

Accordingly, the replacement of research work with scholastic theorizing, "the proof of what was proved long ago" and the retreat from pointed, vital themes run counter to the fundamental aim of the party at the strengthening of the contact of science with life and contradict the notion of the duty of the communist scientist.

One of the main directions of the contact of social scientists with the practice of building communism is participation in the education of the young generation by educational work at higher educational institutions and other educational institutions, lecture and propaganda work.

It is hard to overestimate the role of science of higher educational institutions. Nearly half of all the doctors and candidates of sciences work at the higher school. If we take the social sciences, here its possibilities are especially great, since nearly 80 percent of all the social scientists of the country are concentrated at higher educational institutions.

A significant portion of the sociologists, who, as a rule, combine teaching with scientific research, also work at higher educational institutions--primarily universities. Higher educational institutions train a large portion of the new teachers and scientists, on whose knowledge and moral and political character the development of social science and the quality of instruction depend to a considerable extent.

In order to fulfill the responsible mission of a representative of modern Marxist-Leninist thought, the social scientist, the social science instructor should be a model of great integrity, honesty, adherence to principles, demandingness and self-criticalness. He should be an intelligent person in the full sense of this word, who has a high level of culture, is sensitive, attentive and responsive to other people, but is uncompromising in the implementation and defense of communist ideas.

Scientific and teaching work requires complete dedication, a creative attitude toward the matter and moral irreproachability, because scientists and teachers have always been in the eyes of the people, especially the young generation, not only a source of knowledge, but also moral guides. That is why the deviations from the principles of communist morals, cliquishness, protectionism, the replacement of truly creative labor by the simulation of work, envy and self-advertisement, which are still encountered at times among workers of the social sciences, not only sharply decrease the effectiveness of research and teaching work, but also affect the moral prestige of the latter and, what is the main thing, open the way into science for people who, not having the necessary talents for honest competition, seek devious ways.

The problem of increasing the role of the moral factor in the development and promotion of science, which was raised and is being successfully solved by the party, is of enormous importance both for the stimulation of scientific research and for the ideological, political and moral education of young scientists. It is necessary to begin it at the student's desk, that is, from the very time when society should already make a choice between those who simply wish to be a candidate, a doctor and so on, and those who at first strictly ask themselves: "But do I deserve to work in science?"

The educational potential of the social sciences is realized not only through teaching. The creative character of the young scientist is formed first of all in practical scientific activity, which affords the most extensive opportunities for the spiritual mutual enrichment of the older and younger generations of scientists, the passing on to young people of both the research and the political and moral experience of the veterans of science.

At present in the field of sociology the involvement of student youth in scientific work is achieved first of all within individual higher educational institutions and faculties. As to the reserves which the combination of training with research practice in the system of the USSR Academy of Sciences contains, they are used only occasionally, without a plan and far from completely. But the reserves here are considerable. Scientific research institutions have special staffs of workers, a significant portion of whose duties can be performed by students who are specializing in applied sociology. Meanwhile, at educational institutions the heads of the chairs frequently do not have the opportunity to organize the effective practical work of students in their specialty. Long-term agreements between educational institutions, which have a specialization in applied sociology, and sociological institutions, which conduct planning research, are necessary. The participation of students in such research should be envisaged both by the syllabuses and by the plans of scientific work of research institutions. Moreover, it is a question not simply of the use of students as manpower, but of the accomplishment of a specific educational task: their acquisition of the practical skills of the organization of empirical research under the direction of experienced specialists--from the gathering of empirical information to its computer processing and the primary generalization of the obtained data.

The more fundamentally scientific cooperation is combined with the joint planned scientific activity of the sociologists of higher educational institutions and of sociological research institutions, the more effective it is at the level of the training of personnel. For the present the situation is as follows: joint research is a great rarity, if we do not count, of course, the numerous collections on the materials of conferences, which, as is known, are far from always convened due to the urgent need for the discussion of the results of conducted scientific work. These expensive convocations are made much more often in order to take the place of joint work and to create the appearance of it. Meanwhile, practice expects from sociological science not reports on "measures," but everyday assistance in the implementation of the social program of the party. As L. I. Brezhnev noted at the November (1981) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, this program holds a leading place in our plans and is based on the systematic increase of the proportion of the national income, which is used for consumption, and on the leading growth of the indicators of group B. But this program cannot be only a goal. Its implementation should also become a mighty means of the intensification of production and the improvement of ideological and political educational work. How does one accomplish with the greatest effectiveness the interaction of these processes, ensure the increase of the role of social factors in economic development and increase the level of organizing work? The solution of these problems and others connected with them is impossible without the detailed and at the same time the efficient study of the existing situation and the generalization of advanced know-how. Such research can now be only comprehensive, uniting the representatives, on the one hand, of different social sciences and, on the other, of

academic science and the science of higher educational institutions. Of especially great importance for the practice of the intensification of production is "the comprehensive study of the effect at the present stage of the main principle of socialism 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his labor.' The comprehensive elaboration of economic, social, political, legal, organizational and other measures, which are aimed at the strengthening of the control over the measure of labor and the measure of consumption, and the stricter observance of the unity of the interests of society, the collective and the individual are necessary."

The departmental exclusiveness of some scientific and teaching collectives and the inadequate effectiveness of coordinating work on the scale of both the country and individual republics, regions and cities are a serious obstacle in the way of the increase of the comprehensiveness of research and its transformation into the main means of the increase of the role of the social sciences, and particularly sociology, in the building of communism. It is possible to overcome this shortcoming only by having reorganized and stepped up in this direction the activity of the Presidium of the Soviet Sociological Association and the corresponding subdivisions of the main sociological institution--the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences--so that they would engage more in the analysis and generalization of the sociological studies being conducted and would speed up the elaboration of a system of standardized indicators and principles of the grouping of statistical material, standard programs and tools, which has been under way for many years now. The preparation of a sociological dictionary and a textbook on Marxist-Leninist sociology has also been dragged out unjustifiably. It is obvious that the theoretical and practical potential of both basic, academic sociology and the sociology of higher educational institutions decreases substantially due to such omissions.

It must also be admitted that the very planning of scientific research work in the field of sociology often suffers from the fear of "vital themes which bear the stamp 'topic of the day.'" Therefore, one should not expect appreciable assistance from such scientists. It is hardly necessary to prove that this position runs counter to the fundamental aim at the strengthening of the contact of the social sciences with life and practice and contradicts the notion of the duty of the communist scientist."

At times an attempt is made to conceal this tendency by "academic specificity," forgetting that in socialist society academism means first of all the effectiveness of research, its depth, reliability, great professionalism, civic spirit and adherence to party principles.

The combination of the forces of academic science and the science of higher educational institutions, if we mean not the formal, but the content aspect of this problem, in many ways depends on the psychological atmosphere of scientific work.

The CPSU and the Soviet state are exerting the utmost efforts in order to create the most favorable conditions for productive scientific work. In the late 1970's the assets made available to science in our country came to approximately 5 percent of the annual national income. This is one of the highest indicators in the world. Under these circumstances everything depends on the level of the organization of scientific labor, on the effectiveness of the coordinating activity of

scientific research institutions and the chairs of higher educational institutions, on the extent to which the scientific and pedagogical collectives are capable of implementing in their everyday practical work the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee, which are contained in the speech of M. A. Suslov at the All-Union Conference of the Heads of the Chairs of Social Sciences. "Science requires creative boldness, the uncompromising search for the truth, the creation in every scientific collective of an atmosphere of practical cooperation, benevolence and the adherence to party principles. This is the only means to expand significantly the range of in-depth, innovative research, to increase its practical return. This is the only path on which social theory will fully perform its role as a tool of the revolutionary transformation of the world."

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THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

DISTRIBUTIVE RELATIONS AS A FACTOR OF THE INTENSIFICATION OF PRODUCTION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 7-18

/Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Vadim Zakharovich Rogovin, senior research associate and director of a group of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Distributive Relations as a Factor of the Intensification of Production"/

/Text/ In the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress the two main trends in the development of the sphere of distribution, which will further gain strength, are specified: the increase and convergence of the standards of living of all groups of workers and the creation of such a system of material stimuli, which should always and everywhere ensure the impartial and objective evaluation of the labor of every person /2, p 59/. The determination of the optimum combination of these two trends is an important task of sociological and economic science.

The optimum combination of the interests of the progress of social production, the increase of work quality in all the links of the economic mechanism and the assurance of the maximum possible degree of social equality at each given stage of social development, the creation of the conditions for the successful vital activity of all the members of society is the most complicated problem in the sphere of distribution under socialism. The contradictions between the two main functions of socialist distribution--the effective stimulation of the labor activeness of citizens in social production and the convergence of the standards of living of all social groups, strata and citizens--are constantly being resolved on the basis of the dialectical interplay of these requirements in the system of the socioeconomic policy of the party and the state.

The main criterion of distribution under socialism, L.I. Brezhnev emphasized in the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th party congress, "can only be labor--its quantity and quality" [2, p 59]. The universal affirmation of the prestige of honest, conscientious labor is the most important condition of the accomplishment of not only economic, but also social and ideological educational tasks, the effective struggle against the sentiments of consumerism and the recurrences of petty bourgeois psychology.

As M. A. Suslov emphasized in a speech at the All-Union Conference of the Heads of the Chairs of Social Sciences, the thorough study of the effect at the stage of mature socialism of the main principle of socialism "from each according to

his ability, to each according to his labor" is becoming one of the central tasks of comprehensive interdisciplinary research. "A weighed approach to this problem will make it possible to elaborate scientifically sound recommendations for taking effective steps, which eliminate and prevent violations of the just socialist principle, close all the cracks and loopholes for unearned income, for parasites and all kinds of fanciers of easy money" 4.

The thesis "whoever wishes to live better, should work more and better," which is contained in the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th party congress, expresses the social meaning incorporated in the principle of distribution according to labor, which is comprehensible to all workers. The consistent implementation of this principle in the practice of the rate setting of labor, wages and the payment of bonuses is conducive to the achievement of social justice, that is, the socially justified measure of equality and inequality in the life situation of different social groups. Therefore, "the decrease of the difference in wages, which coincides with the tendency of society toward social equality, should correspond exactly to the real equalization of the labor contributions of the participants in social production" 5.

In the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress the main means of eliminating the socially unjustified equalizing trends in wages are indicated: the improvement of the wages of different categories of workers with allowance made for the difficulty and responsibility of the job being performed, the working conditions and intensity of labor; the strengthening of the stimulating role of the wage and bonuses of each worker, which are called upon to ensure the effective encouragement of truly high individual and collective labor results; the extensive dissemination of progressive socioeconomic forms of collective organization and payment for the end result. In development of these ideas in the socioeconomic literature of recent times the need is demonstrated to eliminate the unfounded limitations in the wage of workers who work most efficiently and with the highest quality and the just as unfounded increase of the wages of people with a low labor productivity by means of so-called conclusion drawing: additions, the granting of "profitable" job authorizations, payment at the maximum rates and so on 6, 7. The question of putting a stop to the practice of the "guaranteed" payment of a bonus to workers, regardless of their specific contribution to the overall results, is being urgently raised. The unsoundness of such an approach increases even more in those instances when the management of an enterprise is able to get easily fulfilled plan assignments or an adjustment of the plan downward.

The still surviving practice, in case of which well and poorly operating enterprises are placed at times under identical conditions, the saving obtained by leading enterprises is taken away under various pretexts, while the enterprises are deprived of the right to independently manage the development funds, was sharply criticized at the November (1981) CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

The increase of the differentiation of the wage subject to labor productivity and efficiency is an expression of social justice, a necessary condition of the economic and social progress of society. At the same time the strengthening of the principle of distribution according to labor is achieved not only as a result of the direct strengthening of the dependence of the payment for labor on the end results, but also by the creation in the sphere of consumption of those mechanisms

which would ensure the full-valued realization of the monetary income received for labor in social production, for which the solution of the problem of the balance of the effective demand and supply is necessary.

A shortage of the good things of life disturbs the proportions in consumption, which were established by the system of distribution according to labor, disorganizes socialist distribution and, thereby, socialist production. The activation of spontaneous redistribution processes, which cause the nonconformity of the nominal income, which is received through the system of state distribution, and the real and monetary income of the population, which is finally formed, is the consequence of the shortage. This seriously disturbs the interest of citizens in socially useful labor, diverts a certain portion of the population from active involvement in social production, gives rise to the practice of deriving unearned income and sustains the sentiments of social parasitism. Along with the expansion of the production of goods and services, the active use of the levers of social policy, which includes the planned redistribution of income and the good things of life on the basis of both economic and social considerations, is an effective means of overcoming these defects, which have a negative influence on the economy and public morals.

The making of some structural changes in redistributive relations is also necessary for the accomplishment of the important social tasks set by the 26th CPSU Congress: "...to close tight any cracks for parasitism, bribery, speculation, for unearned income, any encroachments on socialist ownership," to carry out the active purposeful formation of the interests and needs of the individual, to combat effectively the aspiration to give a little less, but to take a little more from the state, due to which egotism and philistinism, hoarding, indifference to the concerns and affairs of the people arise /2, pp 59, 63-64/.

Among the basic goals of the social development of our society the party advanced the task "to increase the efficiency of the use of the assets being channelled into public consumption funds, including the assets of associations, enterprises, organizations and kolkhozes" /2, p 178/. Its accomplishment in many ways depends on the improvement of the sphere of distribution.

A close intrinsic relationship exists between distribution according to labor and distribution through public funds, since the effective stimulation of labor is accomplished both directly and through a number of mediating links. The consistent implementation of the principle of distribution according to labor presumes the solution of a number of most important social problems, which are not directly connected with the increase of its productivity. Among such problems this is first of all the improvement of the support of children and the disabled at the expense of society, which makes it possible to gradually reduce the influence of the number and proportion of dependents in the family on the measure of consumption of its working members, to "smooth over" the consequences of the violation of the principle of distribution according to labor in the process of the redistribution of income within the family and thereby to ensure the more complete conformity of the material status of each worker to the quantity and quality of his labor, which are reflected in the wage.

The steps on the improvement of the social security system and the increase of state aid to families with children, which are being taken in conformity with the

decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, will contribute to the lessening of the influence on the material status of the family of those factors which do not depend on the quantity and quality of the labor which is expended in social production by its able-bodied members. The convergence of the per capita incomes of families of different sizes and composition as a result of the increase of the role of public consumption funds in the solution of sociodemographic problems will make it possible to use the differentiation in wages more actively for the stimulation of high labor results and to maintain in consumption the socioeconomic proportions which were established by the principle of distribution according to labor.

The role of the active demographic policy, which ensures the equalization of the "starting" opportunities for people from all social groups and all categories of families, should especially be emphasized. The positive influence of these measures on the development of the economy consists in the fact that they are conducive to the improvement and convergence of the conditions of the support of children in families of different sizes and composition and thereby the obliteration of the differences in the conditions of the development of their abilities and the increase of the quality of the main, personality component of the productive forces of society.

The fair redistribution of the national income, which is used for consumption, is ensured not only by the increase of the monetary payments, which are allocated for the support of children and the disabled, but also by the enlargement of the group of good things of life, which are granted from public consumption funds to all the members of society on a free or concessionary basis.

In scientific literature the current expenditures on personal and collective consumption, which is free or on concessionary terms for the population, are grouped at times with public consumption funds. Meanwhile, the nonproductive capital investments, which are allocated for state housing construction and the construction of sociocultural institutions, the current upkeep of which is ensured by public consumption funds, also perform the same social function. In recent years the corresponding expenditures have been included by state statistics in the resources of the national income, which are allocated directly for the well-being of the people. In this connection in socioeconomic literature the suggestion has been advanced to introduce the consolidated indicator "aggregate social funds," which unites the expenditures, which now come under the heading "public consumption funds," and the expenditures of the state, which are allocated for direct capital construction and constitute a part of the accumulation fund. Such an indicator will make it possible to represent more completely the scale of the expenditures of the state on the provision of guarantees of the most important rights of the Soviet people (the right to an education, the improvement of skills, the protection of health, relaxation, housing, the care of children at preschool institutions and so on).

The meeting on a free or concessionary basis of a number of priority needs, which are directly connected with the development of the individual, also ensures the consideration of the interests of social production in the broad sense, since "the development... of production is stimulated most of all by that method of distribution, which enables all members of society to develop, maintain and display their abilities as thoroughly as possible" [1, p 206].

The systematic increase of public consumption funds (which takes place at the same time as the increase of the pay according to labor) makes the task of their efficient and correct use urgent. Given the observed and anticipated increase of the wage and the monetary payment for the support of children and the disabled, one should seek means of the decrease of the total load on the public consumption funds, and such means which would not violate, but would strengthen the principles of social justice.

The new aspects of the increase of the well-being of the people, which necessarily require certain changes in the system of distributive relations, objectively result from the socioeconomic situation which by now has formed in the country. A significant feature of it is the considerable increase of the monetary income of practically all social groups as a result of the social measures implemented during the past decade on the mass increase of the wages of workers and employees, the considerable increase of the income of kolkhoz farmers from social production and the improvement of the material security of the disabled members of society.

Under the conditions of the continuous increase of the monetary assets at the disposal of the population, the task of not only the full meeting of the increasing effective demand through the system of state and cooperative trade and public personal service, but also the systematic broadening of the existing channels of spending for the population and the opening of new ones is acquiring paramount importance. The problem of the more active use of consumption as a factor of economic growth and the formation of the reasonable needs of all members of society, the rationalization and humanization of the processes of social development seems just as important economically and socially.

The coordination of production and consumption by means of the distribution mechanism presumes the constant consideration of the changes in the needs of the broadest masses of workers. According to the data of numerous sociological studies [18, p 138], housing, health protection, organized recreation and the preschool rearing of children hold a leading place in the structure of the needs of the population, which are being inadequately met. Some of the needs (for example, for education, health services) at present are being met almost entirely by free service (although here it is possible to name certain, quite legitimate exceptions--preparatory courses at higher educational institutions, which require payment, foreign language courses, which require payment, cost accounting medical and polyclinic institutions and so on), others (for housing, sanatorium, health resort and tourist service) for some categories of the population are being met on a free or concessionary basis, for others they are being met on a fee basis (state, cooperative and private housing, free and concessionary travel authorizations and travel authorizations purchased at the full cost).

The existing system of the meeting of the given needs was formed in the 1930's and since then has undergone negligible changes, although in recent decades the monetary income and accordingly the ready means of the population have increased by several times, the quality of the corresponding material goods has also increased substantially.

At the same time the use of the monetary assets of the population for meeting the increasing needs for housing and sociocultural services proves to be extremely

difficult, since the proportion of the required payment of a fee in these spheres is unjustifiably low. Thus, the amounts of cooperative housing construction have been maintained in recent years at approximately the same level, coming to about 6 million m² of housing a year, that is, less than 8 percent of the area of housing, which is built by state and cooperative enterprises and organizations and housing cooperatives. From 1960 to 1973 the ratio between free and paid publicly organized services as a whole and for the majority of sectors practically did not change, while in the sphere of culture and art the proportion of paid services decreased by more than 40 percent as a result of the increase of the scope of activity of club institutions and libraries with a negligible expansion of the network of entertainment enterprises and their activity [9, p 74]. The further decrease of the proportion of the required payment of a fee in all the indicated spheres in the second half of the 1970's was caused by the increase of the wages of workers of the nonproduction sectors of the national economy with the preservation of the mechanisms of the use of institutions of the sociocultural sphere by the population.

The impossibility of the full-valued realization through publicly organized channels of the honestly earned monetary assets for meeting the truly vital needs for comfortable housing, organized family recreation, skilled medical assistance and so on distorts the structure of consumption in two ways: the workers either enter the sphere of unorganized redistribution in order to "get" the corresponding good things of life, or, being deprived of the opportunity to use their monetary assets for rational needs, spend them on expensive luxury items and so forth, which stimulates the hypertrophied development of socially prestigious needs to the detriment of the development of socially important needs.

Moreover, the unsatisfied effective demand causes the intensive increase of induced irrational accumulations. The organized savings of the population alone increased from 18.7 billion rubles in 1965 to 156.5 billion rubles in 1980, which is slightly less than half of the annual consumption fund. These assets, being drawn in one way or another into circulation, step up the activity of the sphere of the unorganized redistribution of income, to which a significant portion of the money earned in social production flows.

Unfortunately, at present there is no reliable empirical base which makes it possible to represent completely enough the scale of the spontaneous redistribution processes. However, it is possible to get some idea of the degree of their prevalence from the materials published in the periodic press and from some rough estimates of specialists. Thus, private tutoring alone in 5 years took from Soviet families 8 billion rubles, which is approximately equal to the annual budget of the entire Soviet general educational secondary school [10].

The serious distortions in the system of distributive relations, which are due to the lack of a precisely regulated uniform procedure of the distribution of the good things of life on a free and concessionary basis, are creating socially unjustified inequality in the meeting of vital needs at the expense of public consumption funds. As the studies of the Central Institute of Economic Mathematics, for example, showed, even within a single city the high-paid categories of the population enjoy a higher level of free and concessionary good things of life (housing, travel authorizations to health institutions and so on) than the low-paid categories [11, p 117]. Such differences in the distribution of public

consumption funds are at variance with the functional purpose of the granting of the good things of life, which is called upon to ensure the moderation of the social differentiation connected with distribution according to labor. All this attests that it is impossible to recognize as optimal the combination of the system of the granting of free and concessional good things of life and the system of distribution according to labor.

The concept of the socially guaranteed minimum of the good things of life, which is being elaborated by Soviet economists and sociologists and in accordance with which the system of their free granting should be combined fundamentally with the forms of distribution which ensure the substantial increase of the opportunities of citizens to meet their own needs on a paying basis, indicates the means of increasing the economic and social effectiveness of the assets of the state which are being allocated for consumption, which is free and on a concessional basis for the population, and for nonproductive construction. In conformity with this the suggestion is being advanced to introduce in the practice of state planning indicators which characterize the socially guaranteed level of the good things of life, which are granted from public consumption funds according to a uniform standard which is equal for all members of society. These indicators should specify the socially necessary minimum satisfaction of the needs for housing and socio-cultural services, which is set down legislatively at each stage of the development of the country and increases steadily as the economic means of society increase. As to the good things of life, which exceed this uniform social norm (or socially guaranteed minimum), they should be granted on a universally mandatory paying basis and the needs for them should be met at the expense of the monetary income of the population [see 12; 13, p 21; 14, pp 15-16].

It would be illegal to regard the proposed more complete and flexible combination of the required payment of a fee and gratuitousness in the distribution of a large number of the good things of life and the increase of the paid forms of the meeting of the needs for housing, organized recreation and so on as a question which has been placed on the agenda by difficulties of a temporary nature. The extension of the effect of commodity-money relations in these spheres is a necessary condition of the coordination of production and consumption, since the continuously increasing effective demand for the corresponding good things of life cannot be met within the now existing forms of distribution.

The discrepancy between the further expansion of the sphere of free distribution for the purposes of providing an equal degree of satisfaction of a number of priority needs of all members of society and the expansion of the sphere of effect of commodity-money relations, which under the conditions of the continuous increase of the monetary assets at the disposal of the population is an objective need of the economic and social growth of society, acts as one of motivating contradictions of mature socialist society.

As production and the purchasing power of the workers increase, the unguaranteed types of good things of life, which are an object of free consumer choice through the system of commodity-money relations, occupy a greater and greater place in the pattern of consumption. In this connection the new aspects of the relationship between payment according to labor and freely granted goods from public consumption funds should be realized in the distribution policy.

In our opinion, under the conditions of mature socialism the differences in the quantitative and qualitative results of labor should be reflected in the wage and other forms of monetary remuneration, the different level of which is responsible for the socially valid inequality in the enjoyment of unguaranteed good things of life, the different possibilities of access to goods of higher quality and their selection on the basis of personal inclinations, tastes and preferences. The real labor contribution of a person, which is reflected in his monetary income, and only it, should create specific advantages in consumption. At the same time the increase of the stimulating role of the economic remuneration for labor can be accomplished more effectively, if this direction of social policy is combined with the more complete realization of the guaranteeing function of public consumption funds and with the provision of all members of society with equal access to free or concessionary goods things of life.

This distributive mechanism as applied to the sphere of housing implies that each citizen and every family has the right to obtain free living space in accordance with a uniform social norm, while the space in excess of the socially guaranteed minimum is paid for in higher amounts. Precisely such a procedure of the granting of and payment for housing is stipulated by "The Fundamentals of Housing Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics," which were adopted at the Fifth Session, 10th Convocation, of the USSR Supreme Soviet (June 1981). Accordingly, in the sphere of health services all citizens can have the right to an equal level and quality of free skilled medical help with the simultaneous extension of the required payment of a fee for some types of medical services and services associated with them (a higher level of comfort during a stay at a permanent medical institution, the opportunity to choose the treating or consulting physician among the most skilled specialists at cost accounting outpatient and polyclinical institutions, the opportunity to obtain for a fee systematic procedures and care services for a sick person under home conditions through special cost accounting firms). The mandatory and immediate granting of free travel authorizations to sanatorium and health resort institutions to all people who have had especially serious illnesses, which create a threat to their life and capacity for work, is necessary in the sphere of organized recreation (in this case sanatorium and health resort treatment is regarded as an integral component of free medical help), with the simultaneous introduction for all people, who in practice are healthy, of just as mandatory a fee for a stay at all types of health institutions, which is set in proportion to the level of conveniences and comfort at these institutions.

The internal dialectics of the indicated distributive mechanism, which is connected with the simultaneous extension of the required payment of a fee and gratuitousness in the spheres of social life, which are important for each person, should especially be noted. The improvement of the conditions of the full-valued realization of the monetary income of the population through publicly organized channels will be a very important, although indirect, additional stimulus, which increases the material interest of citizens in the results of their own labor activity and thereby steps up their efforts in the sphere of social production. At the same time the conditions for the emergence of spontaneous redistribution processes are eliminated, the active influx of the monetary assets of the population to the disposal of the state, which obtains an opportunity to allocate these assets for the further development of social production and the expansion of social programs, which includes the steady increase of the socially guaranteed minimum of the good things of life, is ensured.

Centralization in the granting of free and concessionary good things of life, which is based on the principles of goal program planning, presumes the gradual overcoming of the historically established nonuniformity in their distribution among sectors, enterprises and socio-occupational groups. The decrease of the intersectorial differentiation in the wage, which has occurred over the past decade, has not been accompanied by a decrease of the differences in the use of public consumption funds between different enterprises and departments [15, p 50]. Such differences reproduce the socially unjustified differentiation, in case of which the workers of certain enterprises and departments or others receive additional goods simply for being affiliated with the given plant and factory or with one sectorial system or another.

As is known, the ratio between the centralized and decentralized (departmental) sources of public consumption funds in recent years has been changing in the direction of the increase of the proportion of the latter, which in the overall structure of the financing of the public funds in the middle of the 1970's amounted to 20 percent [16, p 195; 17, p 61]. If we consider that the monetary payments for the support of the disabled and assistance to families with children, as well as the expenditures on education are made almost exclusively at the expense of assets of the state budget, the proportion of the assets of ministries and enterprises in the assurance of the maintenance of housing and sociocultural institutions will prove to be even greater. The proportion of departmental financing in the construction of housing and institutions of the nonproductive sphere is also extremely large. In the middle of the 1970's 70 percent of all the allocations for housing construction, 65 percent of those for the construction of children's nurseries and kindergartens and 30 percent of those for the development of medical institutions were allocated by industrial ministries and departments. At the same time considerable differences in the amount of assets, which are allocated for the construction of housing and the development of other elements of the social infrastructure per worker of the sector, are often found between different ministries. Thus, in 1965-1975 threefold more housing was built for the workers of the Ministry of Power and Electrification, while 18- to 20-fold more was built for the workers of the food and light industry than for the workers of ferrous metallurgy. The contrasts between heavy industry and agriculture, in which the corresponding differences amount to tens of times, are even more striking [19, pp 72-73].

The differences in the expenditures of assets for social purposes depend not only on the specific nature of the sector, but also on the size of the enterprise, the level of its technical equipment and so on. As a rule, in terms of one worker the funds used for social, personal and cultural needs are larger at large enterprises than at small enterprises. As a result of this the workers strive to transfer to the place where additional good things of life are promised to them. The uniform provision of enterprises and institutions with manpower resources is also being complicated due to the fact that in some sectors (for example, education, services) their "own" economic stimulation funds are lacking or are extremely insignificant.

It is also impossible not to note the following fact: those who work at departmental service institutions frequently receive higher wages than the workers of the same occupation and skill, who are employed at similar institutions which are financed at the expense of the state budget. Additional benefits (travel authorizations to departmental health institutions and so forth) are also an important increment to their income. Such a situation, which in essence implies the

violation of the principle of equal remuneration for equal work, is responsible for the higher turnover of personnel at sociocultural institutions, which are under the jurisdiction of local soviets, and creates difficulties in their manning with skilled personnel.

The practice of the construction and operation by each large enterprise and association of its "own" housing, its "own" preschool institutions, holiday homes, clubs, Pioneer camps and so on reinforces the socially unjustified differentiation in the distribution of the good things of life subject to the economic means of the enterprise and thereby leads to an increase of the differences in immediate living conditions between different groups of workers.

The granting of free and concessionary good things of life from different sources and according to different norms complicates the effective monitoring of the use of the assets of state and public organizations, frequently leads to their wasteful expenditure, makes it easier for individual people to enjoy these goods at a level, which substantially exceeds the level of their consumption by the remaining members of society, and supports the psychological aspiration to see at as high a level of them as you wish a means of meeting needs which are not paid for by any labor efforts. One should see in this one of the cause of the proliferation of the dependent and self-seeking sentiments, which are manifested in the use by some people of their official position, "penetrating power," personal contacts and so on for access to free goods in amounts which exceed all reasonable standards and are out of all contact with the real contribution to the development of social production.

Meanwhile, the departmental distribution of free good things of life is being actively defended by many managers, economists and sociologists, who declare it to be the "high road" of the social planning of labor collectives, considering the supply according to concessionary norms of such good things of life as housing, holiday homes, holiday hotels, kindergartens, Pioneer camps and so on to be no less important a means of the material stimulation of workers than the levers of monetary payment. The economic and social detrimentalness of such a practice, in case of which the granting of free good things of life is regarded as a special form of the stimulation of the labor activeness of workers, is revealed especially clearly in questions of the distribution of housing.

First, the housing, which is granted to a worker according to an overstated norm or ahead of time, is by its socioeconomic nature something like a lump-sum, extremely expensive (both for the enterprise and for society as a whole) bonus. Such a one-time "bonus" cannot be equivalent to any labor and public services of the worker, since the cost of the construction of an apartment, which meets the present standards, is equal to the amount of the average wage of a worker and employee for 3 to 5 years, while the cost of the maintenance and repair of housing during the entire period of its use considerably exceeds the cost of its construction.

Second, housing is that kind of good, the use of which is vitally important not only for the worker, but also for all the members of his family. From this point of view it is unfair that in different families the children should be under substantially unequal housing conditions only because in one labor collective the situation with housing construction is considerably better than in another.

Third, the worker, who has received departmental living space and has transferred some time later to a different enterprise or to a different system, is not deprived of the right to his own housing. The Fundamentals of Housing Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics eliminated the previous existing procedure, according to which the workers and employees, who had broken labor relations with enterprises and organizations, could be evicted from the apartment houses belonging to these enterprises and organizations without the granting of other living space.

At the same time some mechanisms of the distribution of housing, which are at variance with the constitutional right of all USSR citizens to housing, still remain. The currently existing practice of the separate registration of people in need of an improvement of housing conditions, in case of which one portion of them is registered with the executive committees of the local soviets, while the other is included on the lists of people who seek to receive housing at the place of work, is at variance not only with this constitutional right. It significantly limits the possibilities of the choice of occupation, the type of employment and work as elements of the constitutional right to work, since a change of the place of work usually entails removal from the housing register and thereby a serious delay in the receipt of housing.

The departmental affiliation of preschool institutions, the evaluation of the social effectiveness of which it is impossible to approach only economically, gives rise to no lesser inconsistencies. "It is dictated first of all by the equalization of the conditions of the formation of the individual at the earliest stages of his development.... The need has arisen," F. R. Filippov correctly notes, "to change the procedure of attracting the assets of enterprises, collectives and trade union organizations for the needs of preschool institutions" /20, pp 56-57/.

The untenability of the basic argument in defense of the departmental distribution of free good things of life, according to which such a system reliably ensures the stability of personnel at the enterprise, is revealed especially clearly within the city and the agglomeration. The real trends of the turnover of personnel attest that the effectiveness of the activity of enterprises on the attraction and attachment of manpower by means of the granting of living space and other social goods decreases substantially, if the intensive construction or expansion of other enterprises, which are better provided with their "own" social infrastructure, occurs in the city. This is what happened at the Yaroslavl' Tire Plant, which created its "own" very developed nonproductive infrastructure: when it began to lose its leading position in this sphere among the enterprises of the city, the turnover of personnel increased nearly threefold, serious difficulties arose in the provision of the enterprise with manpower and, as a result of this, in the fulfillment of the production program /21, pp 110-111/.

Since different enterprises and departments have different possibilities or are guided by a different approach to questions of the development of the social infrastructure, the predominance of the sectorial principle over the territorial principle in housing and sociocultural construction results in substantial social and economic costs. As L. I. Brezhnev writes in the book "Vozrozhdeniye" /The Revival/, "...the departmental construction policy creates only the illusion of the economy of assets, sooner or later it will turn into a loss.... The lag with housing, transportation, personal service and culture inevitably affected labor productivity and, hence, the growth of production" /3, pp 101, 103/. However, to this day

many organs of "vertical" management, which are worried first of all by the development of production, are relegating to the background the solution of social problems. The concentration of the fixed capital, which is being allocated for social needs, in the hands of sectorial ministries significantly restricts the possibilities of the use of this capital by the forces of the local authorities, who are responsible for the comprehensive social development of the territorial administrative communities subordinate to them. The departmental dispersal of the assets, which are being allocated for social purposes and the attachment of many institutions of the nonproductive sphere to industrial enterprises and departments, decreases the economic and social effectiveness of these assets and institutions and creates considerable inconveniences for the population, whose personal and cultural needs can be effectively met only on the scale of the city or agglomeration. Not without reason are the executives of party and soviet organizations anxiously directing attention to the fact that the disproportions between the steadily increasing production capacities and the development of the city service sphere not only are not decreasing, but at times are tending to increase /18/.

At the 26th CPSU Congress it was emphasized that departmental barriers, which are opposed to state interests, are often still a serious obstacle in the way of the solution of economic and social problems. For the purposes of overcoming them the congress specified the policy of increasing the effectiveness of territorial planning and its role in the development of regions and of eliminating the unjustified parallelism and duplication in the building by different departments of objects of the nonproduction infrastructure. Obviously, all the sources of financing of the public consumption funds should be gradually concentrated in the hands of the local soviets of people's deputies. The policy of the gradual transfer to the local soviets of available departmental housing has already received legislative sanctioning in the decisions of the Fifth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. It seems that the need has also arisen for the gradual transfer to the jurisdiction of the local soviets of all the departmental sociocultural institutions found in their territory, as well as all the allocations for the development of the social nonproduction infrastructure. This will make it possible to use the entire corresponding material base with the greatest return and to ensure the effective implementation of the comprehensive programs of the social development of territorial administrative communities /22, 23, 24/.

At the same time in the evaluation of the departmental principle as a whole one should proceed from the fact that some aspects of it so far are playing a constructive role in modern production and should be replaced by more advanced principles gradually, as the objective conditions ripen. Moreover, the departmental approach in exceptional instances may also be justified in the future, for example, by the especially great social importance of the enterprises or sector, by the greater intensity of labor, its less favorable conditions and so on.

The three examined aspects of social policy: the setting of uniform socioeconomic boundaries between the required payment of a fee and gratuitousness in the meeting of a number of priority vital needs, the elimination of socially unjustified departmental privileges and preferences in the granting of free good things of life and the strengthening of the territorial principle in social planning, are inseparably interconnected. The concept of the socially guaranteed minimum of the good things of life, which covers all these aspects in their unity and interconnection,

indicates the specific means of realizing the principles of the fair distribution of housing and public consumption funds, which are proclaimed in the USSR Constitution, as well as the policy of the 26th CPSU Congress of increasing the role of public consumption funds in the solution of production problems.

The pursuit of a uniform statewide policy in the area of the distribution of free goods of life, which is consistently combined with the elaboration of more effective systems of the material (monetary) stimulation of workers at the level of enterprises and sectors, is called upon to effectively serve the assurance of the further social and economic progress of Soviet society.

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LABOR EFFICIENCY AND THE ATTITUDE TOWARD LABOR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 19-27

/Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor Ovsey Irmovich Shkaratan, senior research associate of the Institute of Ethnography imeni N. N. Miklukho-Maklay of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Labor Efficiency and the Attitude Toward Labor"/

/Not translated by JPRS/

POSSIBLE CHANGES IN THE USE OF TIME BUDGETS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 28-35

/Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor Vasiliiy Dmitriyevich Patrushev, chief of the Sector of Budgets of Time of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Possible Changes in the Use of Time Budgets"/

/Not translated by JPRS/

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THE MAIN STAGES OF THE ELABORATION OF FORECASTS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 35-43

/Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor Igor' Vasil'yevich Bestuzhev-Lada, chief of the Sector of Social Forecasting of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The Main Stages of the Elaboration of Forecasts (A Comprehensive Method of Social Forecasting)"

/Text/ Methodological Premises. Forecasting is a version of scientific research, the process of elaborating valid opinions on the possible conditions of an object in the future or on the alternative means and times of their achievement /1/. The subject of forecasting is the prospects of the process or phenomenon being studied, as a rule, the changes of its condition in the future (possible, probable, anticipated, desired and so on). It is impossible to judge the prospects of a phenomenon, if the factors, which are responsible for its functioning and development, are unknown. Therefore, in any forecast the consideration of the data with respect to related directions is desirable. Since the latter is very difficult, they are limited to the most important ones. A target grouping of the forecast is formed, in which the subject of the study constitutes the forecast profile, while the external factors constitute the forecast background. In contrast to the profile data, the background data are taken from the available literature, are ordered at competent institutions, are postulated conditionally and so on. The standard forecast background consists of seven sections (levels): scientific and technical, demographic, economic, sociological, sociocultural, organizational and political, international.

In contrast to forecasts in the natural and technical sciences, in the social sciences the objects of forecasts in principle are always susceptible to change, including by means of actions on the basis of decisions which were made on the basis of the forecast. This makes a simple (unconditional) prediction incorrect, since the effect of the "self-realization" or "self-destruction" of the forecast by the means of management (the "Oedipus effect") occurs, which is responsible for the methodological orientation of the social forecast toward the increase of the validity and objectivity of the decisions being made, as if the timely "weighing" of their consequences.

Such a goal is achieved owing to the elaboration of conditional forecasts of two types: the exploratory forecast--the extrapolation of observable trends, the laws of which in the past and the present are sufficiently well known, with abstraction

from the possible interference in this process of the sphere of management, which is capable of radically changing the observable trends (the goal: to determine the long-term social problems which are to be solved by the means of management); the normative forecast--the identification of alternative means of the optimum solution of the long-term problems. For the increase of the effectiveness of targeting, planning, programming, designing and current organizational and management decisions target, planning, program, design and organizational forecasts of both types are accordingly elaborated.

For the achievement of the set goal it is necessary to solve in succession several problems. The compilation of the program of research (the preforecast orientation), the construction of the base model and the forecast background, the elaboration of the exploratory and normative forecasts, their verification (the evaluation of the degree of reliability) and the elaboration of recommendations for the increase of the efficiency of management on the basis of the comparison of the data of the research and standards are meant.

The period of the establishment of the forecast (retrospection), that is, the interval of time, on which the dynamic series of the development of the parameters of the base model in the past and the present are based, as well as the period of the anticipation of the forecast (prospection)--the interval of time, for which the forecast is intended--should be specified in the program from the very start. In Soviet social forecasting, retrospection usually covers 1966-1980, more rarely the preceding decade. As to prospection, it corresponds to the levels of the planning of the economic and social development of the country: the operational (current) forecast--for a period of up to 1 month, the short-term forecast--from 1 month to 1 year, the medium-range forecast--from 1 to 5 years, the long-term forecast--from 5 to 15-20 years, the extralong-range (far-range) forecast--beyond these limits. The levels can vary subject to the features of the object of the forecast.

Thus, in sociopolitical forecasting the long-term forecast, which requires qualitative and quantitative estimates, can have a period of anticipation of less than 5 years, while in urban development forecasting the short-term forecast extends up to 20-25 years (for the period of the effect of the master plans of construction), while the long-term forecast may come to 50-100 years and more.

In social forecasting all the means of obtaining sociological information are used (the analysis of documents and literature, included and "outside" observation, the survey of experts and the population, the "ex post facto"¹ and specially conducted experiment, mathematical modeling and, in the broader sense, scenario modeling, matrix modeling and so on). Trend modeling (the extrapolation of the dynamic series of the data of the base model with the determination of the trend--the analytical or graphic representation of the change of the variable in time, which is obtained as a result of the distinction of a regular component of the dynamic series), as well as the individual or collective survey of experts are of particular importance. These methods account for more than 90 percent of all the forecasts made in the world. The remaining methods² are used extremely rarely. The

1. An innovation, which is conditionally viewed "in retrospect," as a conducted experiment.
2. In all they include more than 150 special methods (see [37]).

expansion of the procedural tools of forecasting is one of the urgent problems of modern prognostication. Pending the conducting of special studies one has to confine oneself to a comparatively narrow set of approved methods and first of all the survey of experts.

It should be remembered that in forecasting the role of the subjective factor is great: the more inexperienced an expert is, the greater the likelihood of erroneous speculative appraisals; the older an expert is, the more inclined he is to appraise the future by analogy with the past. Moreover, the "presentism" of thinking (the aspiration to represent the future as similar to the present), "futurophobia" (the rejection of any qualitative changes in the future) and other intellectual psychological barriers have an effect in the case of surveys of the population.

One must also not forget that the possibilities of trend modeling in social forecasting are limited: the extrapolation of the main observable trends of the development of mankind (population, power engineering, ecology, transportation, the dynamics of the social structure, settlement, the dynamics of antisocial phenomena and so on) to a period of more than 20-30 years will yield obviously absurd results (for example, the number of scientists will exceed the size of the population or the number of divorces will exceed the number of contracted marriages). This attests to the need for a thorough understanding of the qualitative changes of the trends in the context of the social consequences of the scientific and technical revolution.

When forming expert groups, the optimum combination in them of specialists of different skills, age and so on is desirable. In a number of instances, when the respondents are able to give sound appraisals on the basis of their own life experience /4/, in social forecasting it is permitted to raise the survey of the population to the level of the survey of experts.

The Elaboration of the Program of the Study (the Preforecast Orientation). The preforecast orientation includes a formal assignment for the forecast, as well as the determination and specification of the object, the subject, the problem, the goal, the tasks, the structure, the working hypotheses, the period of establishment and anticipation, the methods and the organization of the study.

The study begins with the gathering of preliminary information. Then the primary systematization of the collected information and its representation in a form convenient for discussion and analysis take place. This stage concludes with the preliminary discussion of the systematized information by "the commission method" (by the meeting of the research group, to which specialists, who are capable of giving important additional assessments or of stating construction opinions, are invited). Its goal is to work up the initial document to a condition which is suitable for final discussion by a wide range of specialists. Moreover, the scale and features of the investigation of the object, the group of experts, the principles of the selection of respondents, the scales of measurement, a list of working documents and other details of the tools, which are incorporated in the program of the study, are determined and specified at this stage.

The following stage commences with the discussion of the prospectus of the program of study by the method of destructive related evaluation (DRE), that is, by the successive criticism (destruction) point by point of the assumptions advanced in the prospectus, and then "brainstorming" for the construction of new, sounder assumptions in place of the ones which did not stand up to the criticism.³ For this discussion it is expedient to enlarge the group of experts, but to not more than 10-20 people. Otherwise many of them will be in the position of passive listeners or the threat of the "endlessness" of the discussion and the "redundancy" of the information will increase, which will make further work extremely difficult.

The stage concludes with the drawing up of a program of the study, which includes a detailed characterization of the above-indicated elements of the preforecast orientation. It is preceded by a brief survey of the special literature on the theme, which confirms the urgency of the problems of the study. An appendix in the form of detailed and thoroughly substantiated working documents of the study is given in the conclusion of the program. As an example it is possible to cite the study "The Forecasting of Social Needs," which was conducted in 1969-1976 by the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences /6/. During the elaboration of the program the collective had to prepare 14 working documents: 1) the preliminary outlines of the base model; 2) a dummy copy of the questionnaire-interview for the specification and concrete expression of the parameters of the base model; 3) the same thing for the specification and concrete expression of the exploratory and normative forecasting models; 4) the questionnaires of the parallel expert survey for the same purpose; 5) the scales of measurement; 6) instructions for the interviewer; 7) instructions for the coder; 8) instructions on the conducting of a collective survey of experts; 9) instructions on the processing of the materials of the survey of experts; 10) a list of indicators of the refined base model; 11) a description of the forecast background; 12) a so-called premodel scenario; 13) the working hypotheses of the exploratory model; 14) the substantiation of the criteria of the construction of the normative model.

Of course, the number, composition, size and nature of the working documents are determined entirely by the features, goals and tasks of the study being undertaken. But in all instances this is one of the most labor-consuming operations.

The next stage begins with the discussion of the working documents (each one separately) and the program of the study as a whole (by the "commission method" with the attraction of the minimum number of experts from outside). It is expedient to divide this operation into two stages: the discussion of the working documents by staff members (with the enlistment of experts), the discussion of the program of the study and the working documents appended to it (which have been made more precise following the preceding series of discussions).

The polishing up of the program of the study as a whole is carried out on the basis of this discussion. The topic schedule of the further work with an indication of the measures (the operations of the study as such) and of those responsible for their implementation, as well as the dates of fulfillment and the forms of the presentation of the report is specified.

3. See the description in /5/.

At this stage it is necessary to avoid the temptation to begin with the writing of the text of the program. It is incorrect to assume that the real assumptions of the program will be specified, while the working documents will be formulated during the study. It is impossible to begin immediately the drawing up of the schedule. Of course, it is possible in this way to shorten the time of the work on the program to a few days (in reality up to 25 percent of the time spent on the preparation of a forecast goes for the elaboration of the program). But then inevitable retribution for such rush work will follow: enormous losses of time at later stages of the study, "dead end" situations, and in the end a low quality of the forecast.

The Construction of the Initial (Base) Model and Its Analysis. The forecast, in contrast to "thoughts about the future," should perforce begin and end with a model (which is determined by the set of specific data, which are measured with the desired strictness and reflect the structure and nature of the subject being studied). The forecast is nothing other than the transformation of the indicators of the specific values of the indices of one (the base) model into the indicators of the other two (the exploratory and the normative models), which are measured according to specific laws and rules. Everything else is an interpretation of the obtained values of the indices, which is important in itself, but is inadequate without reliance on the specific indicators. Therefore, it is methodologically inadmissible to begin the forecasting study as such with the exploratory and normative elaborations, bypassing the procedures of the construction of the base model and the forecast background.

The new stage of the work is commenced by the compilation of a preliminary list of the indices (the indicatums and indicators) of the base model. Experience attests /5, pp 102 ff/ that it is advisable to do this by one or several methods: 1) the comparative analysis of similar models which are available in the literature; 2) the content analysis of texts which potentially contain the sought indicatums (the names of indices); 3) the personal survey of experts who are capable of naming the sought indicatums; 4) the survey of experts by correspondence for the same purpose; 5) the so-called simulation survey of experts for the same purpose (what is meant is the analysis of the scientific literature on the subject of the study, in case of which the authors are regarded as experts, while the appropriate excerpts from their works are regarded as expert appraisals on a group of questions, which has been agreed upon in advance); 6) the survey of the population; 7) modeling.

The personal survey of experts by "the commission method" or the "brainstorming" method is the most economical. However, this method justifies itself in the case when the subject of the study is simple, the outlines of the base model are more or less clear, the competence of the experts is beyond doubt and, finally, if the means, forces and time do not make it possible to turn to other methods. In all other instances it is expedient to reinforce the personal survey of experts with control methods.

Further there follows the reduction of the preliminary list to a state which is suitable for the performance of the subsequent operations. As a rule, the preliminary list has tens, frequently hundreds, and at times thousands of indicators, which to a considerable extent duplicate each other. Therefore, the first part of

the operation reduces to the content analysis of the list for the purpose of shortening it. But even after this the number of indices remains unacceptably large. It has been established empirically that the indicator system is convenient with a scale on the order to tens of indices. One index would be ideal. But the reduction of the number of indices to the order of units can lead to the violation of the representativeness of the indicator system and to its one-sidedness, while a single generalizing (general) index can lead to a distorted notion of the subject of the study.

The most effective method of optimizing the indicator system is the replacement of the groups of similar indices with generalizing indices or more aggregated indices.

The second method is the distinction in each group of similar indices of the "problem" index, that is, the index which correlates most closely with the urgent social problem, for the sake of which the study is being undertaken. This method is the most economical and is very effective, but is fraught with a one-sided approach.

The second part of the operation consists in the minimization of the number of indices of the base model by one of the two named methods. There then follow: 1) the personal survey or survey by correspondence of a larger group of experts for the purpose of the specification of the obtained model by the "commission method," the method of destructive related evaluation or a version of the Delphi technique depending on the complexity, features and degree of elaboration of the subject of the study, as well as on how confident the group is of the adequacy of the model to the subject of the study;⁴ 2) the working up of the base model on the basis of the conducted discussion and its final revision by means of the methods of systems analysis; 3) the presentation of the base model (the construction of the dynamic series of indicators in accordance with each index of the base model in conformity with the set indicatums for the entire period of the establishment of the forecast); 4) forecast retrospection--the analysis of the dynamic series of the base model for the purpose of identifying the features of the trends of development of the subject of the study; 5) the forecast diagnosis--the analysis of the identified trends of the subject of the study for the purpose of determining the adequacy of the operations of the forecasting as such.

The end result of this stage of the study is a model of the subject of the study, which is suitable for subsequent operations, and comments which specify the sequence of further work.

The Construction of the Model of the Forecast Background and Its Analysis. The social forecast acts usually as a target grouping, in which the profile of the study is combined with the background. Therefore, the base model of the social forecast is inadequate for the tasks and goal of the study and is ineffective, if it is not combined with a similar model of the forecast background. The omission of this stage of the study is methodologically inadmissible. This stage commences with the compiling of a preliminary list of the indicators of the model of the forecast background according to the previously specified sections and one or several of the seven methods listed above. The last two sections (the organizational and political and the international) usually postulate the conditional invariability

4. See the description of these and the following methods in 7, 8.

of the background for the entire period of anticipation, with the exception of those instances when political questions are included directly in the subject of the study. The two preceding sections (the sociological and the sociopolitical) in social forecasts are usually included in the subject of the study, that is, in the base model. In the case of social forecasting the scientific and technical, demographic and economic sections have to be elaborated in the greatest detail. In the first the data on the fuel, energy, material and raw material base, the level of mechanization (automation, cybernetization) of production, the prospects of construction, transportation and means of communication (first of all television) are of the greatest interest; in the second--the data on the dynamics, structure and migrations of the population; in the third--the data on the scale and nature of the allocations for the corresponding social needs.

There then follow: the reduction of the preliminary list to a state which is suitable for further operations by the methods indicated earlier; special discussion for the purpose of the specification of the obtained model by the methods indicated above (when the subject of the study is not especially complicated, the combination of this discussion with the preceding is permissible); the working up of the model of the forecast background on the basis of the discussion by the methods of systems analysis; the presentation of the model of the forecast background (the mobilization of quantitative information in the available literature, in accordance with orders at competent institutions or of the conditionally postulated information, with the construction of dynamic series); forecast retrospection of the background data; the forecast analysis of the background data, which include not only the trends of the period of establishment, as in the base model, but also the trends of the period of anticipation in accordance with the obtained (or postulated) prepared data.

The end result of the procedure is a document of the same size and nature as the preceding document. At times for the more well-founded orientation of the subsequent operations they add to both documents a so-called premodel scenario, which in essence is a further development of the conceptual working hypotheses and contains general preliminary opinions on the potential and desired state of the object of the study in the future with allowance made for the data of the forecast background.

The Exploratory Forecast. The task of the forecast search is not the unconditional prediction, but the identification of the long-range problems, which are to be solved by the means of management with the aid of an extremely conditional prediction, which is based on abstraction from the possible and even the necessary intervention on the part of the sphere of management. Therefore, the problem nature of the data being obtained should be taken into account. At the same time one must not pass them off as some "prophecy." It is methodologically inadmissible to reduce social forecasting to a search, but it is just as inadmissible to proceed immediately to the normative elaboration of the base model, without having an idea of the problem situation, under the conditions of which (and for the overcoming of which) the proposed optimum will function.

This stage of the study commences with the direct (mechanical) extrapolation of the dynamic series of the base model to the period of anticipation of the forecast for the purpose of creating a reference base for the subsequent operations by the methods of trend modeling [9]. The obtained data are united in the system of the first (base) exploratory model of the forecast. Then there follow:

1. The calculation of the so-called upper extreme of the forecast search, that is, the comparison of the data of the first exploratory model with the data of the forecast background and the determination of the maximum possible deviations of the trend from a conditional boundary, beyond which begins the domain of the knowingly unreal (for example, up to the maximum possible increase of the rate and scale of the automation of production, the development of television and so on). Here it is no longer possible to do without trend models, the expansion of the set of tools of modeling (formalized scenarios, matrices, graphs, network and simulation models and others) is required. The obtained results are united in the system of the second exploratory model of the forecast.

2. The calculation of the "lower extreme" of the forecast search by the same methods with the determination of the maximum possible deviations of the trend from the opposite conditional boundary, beyond which begins the domain of the knowingly catastrophic (for example, the depletion of resources, the shortage of assets, depopulation and others). The result is the third exploratory model of the forecast.

3. The calculation of the most likely trend between the upper and lower extreme on the basis of a thorough analysis of the data of the forecast background by the methods indicated above. The result is the fourth (final) exploratory model of the forecast, which is usually presented in the form of "a tree of problems" which are to be solved.

The stage concludes with the discussion of all four or at least the final exploratory model by experts (and the use of the Delphi technique of the collective survey by correspondence is desirable).

The working up of the exploratory models of the forecast and their unification in a single system take place on the basis of the discussion. The replacement of such a system by any of the exploratory models, even the final model, is methodologically inadmissible, since for the needs of management it is extremely important to have an idea not of a single trend, but of the "fan of trends," which encompasses the domain of the really possible and makes it possible to take into account in advance the different deviations from the most likely trend.

The Normative Forecast. It is inadmissible to combine the forecast norms with the planning (program, project) norms. The planning norms are unequivocal directives for decision making as such, the forecast norms are alternative, probabilistic versions for the choice of the optimum decision. The normative approach in social forecasting should be combined without fail with the explorative approach in order to prevent the one-sidedness of appraisals and the disorientation of management.

This stage of the study begins with the determination of the absolute optimum with conditional abstraction from the limitations of the forecast background (precisely what it would be desired to have, precisely as what it would be desired to see the object of the study, if there were the maximum conceivable development of science and technology, an abundance of resources and capital, the highest possible culture of the population and so on). The goal is to create guidelines for the subsequent normative elaboration. The means are the extensive set of tools of modeling ("the tree of goals," formalized scenarios, matrices, graphs and other models).

In complicated cases the procedure should be preceded by the operation of the determination of the criteria of the optimum according to all seven sections of the forecast background with allowance made for the features of the subject of the study. Without this stage the optimum may turn out to be one-sided, arbitrary and inadequate for the subject of the study.

Then follow: 1) the determination of the relative optimum with allowance made for the limitations of the forecast background by the in-depth normative study of the data of the base model and of the absolute optimum by the methods indicated above; 2) the discussion of both or at least the last normative model by the methods indicated in the preceding discussion; 3) the additional discussion includes the parallel survey of the population for the purpose of checking the degree of objectivity of the expert appraisals. Experience shows that the ordinary respondent finds it hard to answer projective questions of a purely exploratory nature and gives knowingly presentist (not going beyond the present) responses to questions of a purely normative nature. At the same time he is capable of substantially supplementing the expert appraisals, if it is a matter of things well known to him and if the exploratory approach in the questions is logically combined with the normative approach, especially when the questions are asked indirectly, by means of psychological tests.⁵ The operation is performed according to all the rules of the conventional sociological study, and a pilot study can precede the general survey for the refinement of the questionnaires and other working documents; 4) the working up of the normative models of the forecast, their combination in a single system. The quality of the obtained results depends entirely on the soundness of the criteria of the optimum, the consideration of the data of the forecast background and the conducting of the surveys.

The Verification of the Forecast. The absolute verification of a forecast, that is, the establishment of the degree of its conformity to the real state of the object in the predictable future, is possible in practice only toward the end of the period of anticipation and is a special task which goes beyond forecasting as such. But at the final stages of the elaboration of the forecast relative (tentative) verification--the determination of the degree of its conformity to the requirements of modern science, to the trends of the development of social practice, the degree of reliability of the forecast (that is, the probability of the realization of what was predicted for the set confidence interval), accuracy (that is, of the confidence interval itself for the prescribed probability of its realization) and validity (that is, the conformity of theory to practice)--is possible and desirable. Experience shows that the forecasts verified in this way prove to be correct with a high degree of probability and, moreover, serve as reliable orienting information for management and yield a significant economic and political impact in the sense of the optimization of decision making. In relatively simple cases the expert surveys play the role of verification. In more complicated cases a special procedure is required, for example, verification by means of the elaboration of the forecast by a method which is different from the initially used one; by means of the comparison of the forecast with other forecasts which were obtained from other sources of information; by means of the checking of the adequacy of the forecast in the retrospective period; by means of the analytical or logical

5. See the method of testing as applied to the features of social forecasting in /6, pp 45 ff/.

deduction of a parallel forecast from previously obtained forecasts; by means of an additional survey of experts; by means of the refutation of the critical remarks of opponents; by means of the identification and consideration of the sources of possible errors; by means of comparison with the opinion of an expert who is recognized as the most competent expert. The collective survey of experts (preferably by correspondence) is the most economical and at the same time the most effective with the minimum expenditures and the minimum risk of subjective appraisals.

The verification of the exploratory and normative models of the forecast is made by one or several of the methods indicated above, then follow the discussion of the obtained results, the working up of the models on the basis of this discussion and their final revision.

The Elaboration of Recommendations for Management. As was indicated in the methodological premises, the social forecast is not an end in itself, but "information for thought" for people who make special-purpose, planning, program, design, organizational and management decisions. The work on a forecast cannot be considered complete, if recommendations are not given on the basis of the comparison of the data of the search and norms. It is inadmissible to entrust this final procedure to the client of the forecast.

The final stage of the study envisages: 1) the formulation of tentative recommendations by the forces of the research group; 2) the discussion of the formulated recommendations by conducting a personal survey of experts (in difficult cases a survey by correspondence); 3) the formulation of a scenario of the possible state of the object of the study in the case of the implementation of the offered recommendations; in difficult cases an additional survey of experts on the content of the presented scenario is conducted, in simpler cases it is combined with the preceding discussion; 4) the writing of a preliminary report on the study, if possible in three versions: short (3-5 pages), detailed (20-25 pages) and complete (10-15 author's sheets) with a detailed interpretation of both forecasting models and the appendices of documents on all the preceding procedures; 5) the final discussion of the submitted report⁶ by the conducting of a personal survey of experts (in difficult cases a survey by correspondence); 6) the completion of the report and the delivery of the report to the client.

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SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE ACTIVITY OF PARTY COMMITTEES

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/Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Nikolay Nikolayevich Bokarev, chief of the Sector of Sociological Studies of the Work of Public Organizations of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Sociological Research in the Activity of Party Committees"

/Text By the decree "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work" the CPSU Central Committee obligated party committees to devote particular attention to the thorough and comprehensive study of public opinion and to conduct sociological research more extensively. Party organizations are now faced with the task "to see to it that our channels of communication with the masses and the means of sounding out public opinion would help party organizations even more in the consolidation of the comprehensive approach to education and would become genuine barometers of the labor and social activeness of people" /1.

Some positive experience in using sociological research in party work is generalized in a number of publications /3, 4. Now the main direction of sociological research in this area is the study of the effectiveness of the ideological educational work of party organizations. In particular, the problems of the improvement of the content, forms and methods of lecture propaganda and the effectiveness of the mass media are very urgent. The elaboration of a system of criteria and indicators of the effectiveness of the work of the primary party organization is very promising.

It is difficult to overestimate the role of sociological research in the practice of building the party. However, there is a serious obstacle for its extensive dissemination--the lack of skilled personnel. What is the solution? In Estonia at the University of Marxism-Leninism the Department of Sociology, in which party workers study the methods and techniques of research, has been established and has already graduated the first students. A republic council attached to the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences, which is called upon to coordinate research and to strengthen the cooperation of sociologists with party committees, is at work. The Council of Sociological Research attached to the Bashkirskaya Oblast Committee of the CPSU is also working successfully. Theoretical scientific conferences, which are devoted to urgent problems of ideological work, are held here regularly.

The social experiment in the area of the organization of ideological educational work, which was conducted in the city of Ivanovo, merits special attention. The essence of this experiment, the results of which First Secretary of the Ivanovskaya Oblast Committee of the CPSU V. Klyuyev related in the article "The Bounds of the Comprehensive Approach" /5/, consists in the fact that the secretaries of the party committees and bureaus of the enterprises of the city now have three deputies for ideological affairs: ideological-political, labor and moral education. During the preparation for and the conducting of the social experiment, sociological studies, which showed that success in the matter of forming the moral character of young workers to a considerable extent depends on a creative moral and psychological situation and the atmosphere in the collective, were conducted under the direction of the city party committee and its ideological commission in many labor collectives of Ivanovo. According to the data of T. P. Sidiyakina, 76 percent of the surveyed young workers of the Ivanovo Worsted Combine believe that their fellow workers show interest in their production affairs, 82 percent always receive assistance from colleagues when necessary, 42 percent of those surveyed noted the good interrelations in the collective. In all, 70 percent of the young production workers participate in the introduction of leading initiatives, 71 percent are economical with the consumption of raw materials and materials, 63 percent are increasing the level of their education. At the same time many of the foremen indicated that the educational influence of the collective is not being fully utilized. Particular attention was directed to the need to form the correct public opinion about cases of immoral behavior in daily life, drunkenness, hooliganism and the embezzlement of socialist property.

In the party organization of the Factory imeni 8 Marta, at which the experiment was conducted for the first time, 36 communists were selected as deputy secretaries of the party bureaus and deputy party group organizers for ideological and political education. The deputy secretaries of the party bureaus for labor education gave assistance to the administration of the shops in the creation of multiple-skill brigades, which work on a single order with the use of the coefficient of labor participation. All the primary production collectives (brigades, sections) have begun to work under the slogan "Work Without Laggards," more than 95 percent of the members of the collective at present are taking part in the movement for a communist attitude toward labor.

The communists, who are responsible for the coordination of the work on moral education, analyze weekly the state of production discipline and public order and take steps of pressure upon offenders jointly with the public personnel division, the council of the microrayon and the comrades' court.

While noting the unquestionable positive results of the social experiment, ideological commission members M. M. Razina and T. P. Sidiyakina /6/ stress that it faced the city party committee and the party organizations with a large number of problems, the successful solution of which requires the most extensive use of sociological information.

In recent years sociological studies of the style of work of party committees have become widespread. One of them was conducted by the Sector of Sociological Studies of the Work of Public Organizations of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences in 1976-1980. The work of party committees

with personnel, the system of current and long-range planning, the effectiveness of party meetings and the state of criticism and self-criticism, monitoring and the verification of the fulfillment of decisions were studied. The problems of the selection, placement and training of the personnel of the elected party aktiv, economic managers and ideological workers were at the center of attention at the first stage of this multilevel study.¹

To the question "Is the party committee devoting enough attention to the training of elected personnel and the party aktiv?" 48 percent of the surveyed active party members of the Karaganda Metallurgical Combine (in all about 3,500 people) responded affirmatively, 38 percent responded negatively. In all, 20 percent of the respondents indicated that the themes of the classes are not always topical, respectively 18 and 12 percent noted the irregular nature of the latter and the absence of interesting, topical questions which could be discussed in them.

It is well known that in the evaluation of the party executive his political maturity, skills, moral character and ability to guide the masses under present conditions should be the main criteria [77]. In the opinion of 81 percent of the active party members of the Nizhniy Tagil Metallurgical Combine political and practical qualities, as a rule, are taken into account when selecting personnel. The following fact also confirms the great public political activeness of the elected party aktiv of the Nizhniy Tagil Metallurgical Combine: nearly all the members of the party bureau and the secretaries of the party organizations perform other public assignments and often hold discussions and deliver political information at party meetings, the meetings of the party committees and the party bureau and in the labor collectives.

The obtained results of the study were examined in the party committees, specific steps on the improvement of the work with personnel, particularly the improvement of the training of the aktiv, were outlined on their basis. Promotion of executive positions, for example, is now carried out, as a rule, from among the special reserve approved by the party committees, and the workers enrolled in it are obligated to undergo regular training at the reserve school.

In 1976-1977, on the instructions of the Moscow Oblast Party Committee, the Sector of Sociological Studies of the Work of Public Organizations of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences conducted in 66 primary party organizations of 9 rayons of the Moscow area a study, the goal of which included the study of the supervision and verification of the fulfillment of decisions, the state of criticism and self-criticism and questions connected with the preparation for and conducting of party meetings, the meetings of party committees and party bureaus. Various methods of collecting sociological information were used: the analysis of party documents, the statistical data on meetings, the meetings of party committees and party bureaus over 1.5 years, a survey of communists. The party committees of industrial, construction and transportation enterprises, scientific research institutions, kolkhozes, sovkhoses, schools, hospitals and so on were included in the sample. Among them there are not only large organizations,

1. The study was conducted in the party organizations of four enterprises of ferrous metallurgy: the Karaganda and Nizhniy Tagil metallurgical combines, the Cherepovets Metallurgical Plant and the Elektrostal' Plant near Moscow.

which have more than 2,000 party members, but also small organizations. Of the 21,598 members of these party organizations, about 12 percent (2,548 communists) were surveyed. Such a sampling made it possible to judge the state of affairs throughout the Moscow area.

As the study showed, in the primary party organizations of the oblast of the capital, along with traditional forms, the following forms of control, which have proven their worth, are used extensively: the reports of communists at the meetings of party groups on their fulfillment of party assignments, the regular notification of communists about the progress of the fulfillment of adopted decisions and on the implementation of the suggestions and critical remarks of party members. At the same time, according to the data of the study there are still significant reserves for the improvement of the forms and methods of control. Thus, 1 communist in 20 indicated shortcomings in the organization of the implementation of decisions, 1 in 6 is not satisfied with the existing practice of control, many effective forms are not being used (7.5 percent), control is carried out from case to case (8.6 percent), great demands are not made on performers (12 percent), communists are poorly informed about the results of control (7.6 percent).

The obtained information was used when preparing for and conducting the applied science conference "Control and the Verification of Fulfillment Are the Most Important Section of Organizing Work" and was the basis for recommendations, which were aimed at the elimination of the shortcomings and the increase of the level of party organizational work. Here particular attention was devoted to the support of the comprehensive approach, that is, to the combination of party political, organizational, socioeconomic and educational measures. This work was rated favorably in the pages of the journal PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' 187.

The Methods Council for Party Organizational Work (Doctor of Technical Sciences V. V. Mechev, chairman), which was set up in the Krasnoyarskiy Kray Committee of the CPSU, in 1981 came forth with the procedural recommendations "Sociological Research in the Practice of Party Work: Methods, Experience, Problems," in which the results of the sociological studies at three plants of Krasnoyarsk are generalized. In the party committees of these plants they thoroughly study and take into consideration the opinion of communists and nonparty people, uncover the existing shortcomings and implement scientifically sound measures, which are aimed at the solution of the main problems of the economic and social development of the collectives.

The kray party committee supported the initiative of scientists and generalized the experience of party organizations in the use of sociological information. A unique division of labor has formed: the scientists elaborate the program of research, the structure and content of the survey forms and draw up written reports, while the organization and conducting of the surveys and the provision of researchers with technical means of processing the data are the concern of the party organizations and labor collectives. As a result, the effectiveness of the studies has increased considerably. Such cooperation of science and practice is also very fruitful because the very raising of numerous questions during the elaboration of the program of the study gives rise to thought and promotes the increase of the level of educational work. Thus, the party committee of the Krasnoyarsk Heavy Machine Building Plant, when elaborating jointly with sociologists

recommendations on the improvement of the practice of preparing for and conducting party meetings, took into account the opinion of communists on the need to carefully prepare for party meetings, to enlist in this the rank and file party members and to place on the agenda of the meetings the most urgent questions, on which the success of the entire collective depends. It was recommended to adopt in practice the preliminary discussion of the drafts of the decrees of party meetings, to support and encourage critical and practical statements of workers by all measures of party influence.

Speaking at the solemn meeting in Alma-Ata, which was devoted to the 60th anniversary of the Kazakh SSR and the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, L. I. Brezhnev, in touching upon the question of life within the party, noted: "The opinions and thoughts of communists on a wide range of questions of party policy and the work of their organizations, principled criticism and self-criticism, which are dictated by the interests of the matter, of course, will enrich party life" /27.

The interesting experience of the cooperation of the kray party committee and sociologists is told about in the article "The Primary Party Organizations in the Drive for the Fulfillment of the Assignments of the 10th Five-Year Plan" by First Secretary of the Krasnoyarskiy Kray Committee of the CPSU S. A. Medunov /97. In May 1976 a plenum of the kray party committee, at which the questions of the enhancement of the role of the primary party organizations in the rallying of communists and all workers for the fulfillment of the annual plan and the five-year plan as a whole were discussed, was held here. During the preparation for the plenum the Council for the Study of the Social Development of Labor Collectives and Public Opinion attached to the kray committee of the CPSU jointly with the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences conducted sociological studies in 150 primary party organizations, which were aimed at the identification of the factors which are conducive to the further improvement of the practice of conducting party meetings.

It is interesting that the information obtained by the sociologists was supplemented by the materials of 67 commissions, which were set up in the city and rayon party organizations of the kray. The data of the sociologists correlated well with the findings of the commissions.

Practical and principled criticism and self-criticism are receiving support on the part of communists and executives. At the same time, as the study showed, the meetings have not become a school of the education of communists and the collective leadership of the party organization in all party organizations. Thus, 42 percent of those surveyed do not take part in the preparation for and conducting of party meetings, 5 percent believe that attention is not paid to their opinion and critical remarks, which are expressed at the meetings. More than 30 percent of the communists are only partially informed about the progress of the fulfillment of the adopted decisions, about 11 percent of the respondents indicated the lack of proper monitoring of their fulfillment. Taking into account the results of the study, the plenum of the kray party committee obligated the city committees and rayon committees of the CPSU and the primary party organizations to do everything for the further development of democracy within the party, the strengthening of the Leninist principle of collectivity in work and the increase of the labor and political activeness of communists and all workers.

What conclusions arise from the analysis of the experience of using sociological studies in the practical work of party committees? First of all, these studies have become a firm basis of party decisions on urgent problems of the work of party organizations. In combination with the traditional methods of studying the state of affairs in party organizations they provide detailed social information and serve as a good basis for taking practical steps in the area of the improvement of organizational and ideological work.

Sociological studies play an important role not only in the study of public opinion, but also in the formation of the latter. As MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA noted, when analyzing the experience of the Council for the Study of the Social Development of Collectives of Workers and Public Opinion attached to the Oktyabr'skiy Rayon Committee of the CPSU of the capital, the study of public opinion by sociological methods bars the way of subjective decisions and appraisals. It is in full accord with the Leninist approach to the study of political problems in combination and meets the requirements of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work" /10/.

In conclusion I would like to make a few suggestions on the improvement of scientific research work and the use of sociological methods in the practical work of party organs. Various forms of organizing sociological services in party committees exist. In itself this fact, undoubtedly, is positive. However, for the present it is difficult to determine which of the available forms are better and which are worse; what requires checking by time and what already now requires quite extensive dissemination. In our opinion, a scientific conference, which would generalize the gained experience and would channel the development of the important sector of sociological knowledge in the necessary direction, is needed for answering these questions. Unfortunately, the question of holding such an all-union coordinating conference so far has not been settled.

Scientifically sound elaborations and recommendations on the methods of sociological studies in this area should also be covered more thoroughly in party political literature, the extensive discussion of methodological and theoretical problems, particularly the correlation of the theory of the building of the party and applied sociology, should be ensured. The important tasks are the determination of the subject of special sociological theory in the area of party work, the ascertainment of the possibilities of the use of sociological methods in the study of urgent questions of the building of the party and the elaboration of a system of criteria and indicators of the efficiency of the activity of the party organization.

It is encouraging that special courses on sociological studies of party organizational and ideological work have been introduced at the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee and at higher party schools. However, for the present not all party committees have professionally trained people. The provision of social scientist-sociologists with standard methods and programs of research would make it possible to compare the results of the study of the same questions in different regions and party organizations.

It is also necessary, in our opinion, to regulate the work on the conducting of sociological studies and the use of their results in the practical activity of primary party organizations, city and rayon party committees and oblast committees

of the CPSU. It is especially important to constantly coordinate the efforts of the public, scientists and party workers locally, especially as some positive experience has already been gained in this matter.

For example, in April 1981 the Moscow City Party Committee held a special seminar for the chiefs of the departments of propaganda and agitation of all the rayon party committees, which was devoted to the study of the activity of the Cheremushkinskiy Rayon Committee of the CPSU on the preparation and conducting of sociological studies. Since 1969 there have existed here a supernumerary department of sociological research and a scientific methods council on sociological research, which plans, coordinates, supervises and directs the study of the public opinion of the members of labor collectives and the residents of the microrayons on the most important sociopolitical, economic and cultural issues, elaborates the corresponding recommendations, coordinates and supervises the activity of the methods councils, sections and bureaus of sociological research attached to the party committees and party bureaus, organizes training and tutorials for party and economic activists on questions connected with the study of public opinion.

When studying public opinion, the scientific methods council sets for itself the following basic goals: 1) the supply of the rayon committee of the CPSU with social information on questions which are connected with the perception and appraisals by communists and the population of the activity of the rayon party organization and with the soundness of the directions of the socioeconomic development of the rayon, which were selected by the rayon committee; 2) the elaboration of criteria of the evaluation of the influence of social, economic, educational and other factors on the vital activity and the development of the rayon party organization, labor collectives and the individual; 3) the identification and evaluation of the degree of influence of socioeconomic, ideological, cultural, moral psychological and other factors (in isolation and jointly) on the vital activity and development of the entire rayon, the labor collective and the individual; 4) the evaluation of the effectiveness of organizational and educational activity; 5) the elaboration of recommendations and suggestions on the further improvement of the activity of the rayon and primary party organizations, mass political work at the place of residence, the communist education of young people; 6) the analysis of the success of the measures implemented by the rayon and primary party organizations in conformity with the recommendations offered by the scientific methods council on sociological research.

At its meetings (not less than once a quarter) the scientific methods council approves the plans of the activity of the council and the supernumerary department of sociological research, specifies the themes of the studies, studies their results and elaborates recommendations for the sectorial departments of the rayon committee of the CPSU, public commissions and primary party organizations on the use of the obtained data.

Organizationally the scientific methods council is the unity of a group of experts and consultants, the sectorial departments of the rayon committee of the CPSU and the supernumerary department of sociological research. A chairman--the first secretary of the rayon committee of the CPSU--is the head of the council.

The executives of rayon services and organizations, the directors of institutes, the secretaries of large primary party organizations, leading scientists and

sociologists are included in the group of experts and consultants. The main task of the group of experts and consultants is to ensure a high level of the organization and conducting of sociological research and the study of public opinion. The group takes part in the elaboration of the programs of the study, questionnaires and other materials, in the discussion of the results of the study and in the elaboration on their basis of recommendations on the improvement of the activity of party organizations and labor collectives.

The sectorial departments of the rayon committee of the CPSU, on the basis of the long-range plans of the activity of the rayon party organization, submit for the consideration of the scientific methods council suggestions on the themes of the sociological studies. They are responsible for the organization and conducting of sociological studies in the labor collectives and at the place of residence, the study of public opinion on the themes assigned to the departments, the preparation of the necessary documents, the selection of interviewers, the facilities for the conducting of surveys, instruction and the collection of questionnaires, the circulation of materials, the processing of the results of studies, the technical make-up of tables and so on.

The supernumerary department of sociological research elaborates a set of measures and methods of the study of a specific social phenomenon, the methods of research; determines the group and category of people or the block of those being surveyed, the means and methods of identifying opinions; draws up the documents; takes part in the selection and work of the interviewers; generalizes the obtained data in explanatory notes, tables and diagrams; makes suggestions on the improvement of the activity of labor collectives, the increase of the efficiency of the organizational, ideological and other work of the rayon committee of the CPSU; during repeat studies analyzes the changes which have occurred in the activity of party organizations; evaluates the effectiveness of the steps taken by the rayon party committee and the primary party organizations on the elimination of the previously identified shortcomings.

The implementation of an extensive program of sociological studies in the rayon helps the rayon party committee and the party organizations to study in greater depth the social processes occurring in labor collectives and at the place of residence and to make on this basis scientifically sound decisions. In the future it is proposed to set up an automated control system in the rayon. Meanwhile the elaboration of information subsystems on two themes: the selection of personnel and the holding of party meetings in the primary organizations, is being carried out. The positive experience of implementing such developments in the Voroshilovskiy and Zelenogradskiy Rayon Committees of the CPSU of Moscow and the Leninskiy Rayon Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine (Dnepropetrovsk) is inspiring confidence in the success of this important matter.

It is expedient, in our opinion, to unite the efforts of the sociological subdivisions and the well-recommended councils for the promotion of scientific and technical progress and the scientific organization of labor, which in Moscow Oblast have been set up on a voluntary basis in all the city and rayon party committees. Especially as sociological sections are already operating in some of these councils.

The solution of the urgent problems of the organization of scientific research work in the area of party life presumes the extensive use of sociological methods and the active support of the creative research of sociologists on the part of party committees. In this lies the guarantee of the successful development of sociological science and the strengthening of its ties with the practical needs of the party committees.

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SOCIOLOGICAL SERVICE OF THE LENKORAN' CITY PARTY COMMITTEE

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/Article/ by First Secretary of the Lenkoran' City Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Dilruba Dzhabrailovna Dzhamalova and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Gennadiy Semenovitch Batygin, senior research associate of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The Sociological Service of the City Party Committee"

/Text/ Sociological research is becoming widespread in the activity of party committees. The analysis of the requirements and opinions of the workers, the search for new forms of the organization of labor and the improvement of the economic mechanism, the selection and placement of personnel, the increase of the effectiveness of propaganda and agitation, the increase of ideological and political educational influence--such is a far from complete list of those areas of the economic, ideological and organizational work of the party, in which sociological research can be of appreciable benefit.¹

In spite of the gained experience, many problems still await their solution. This concerns first of all the practical effectiveness of scientific developments. "Science should be a constant 'disturber of the peace,' showing in what sections stagnation and a lag have been noticed, where the present level of knowledge makes it possible to advance more rapidly, more successfully" /1, p 43/. The main thing that the party workers expect from sociologists consists in this.

The increase of the effectiveness of research is directly connected with the comprehensive approach to the control of social processes, which presumes the ability not only to explain scientifically the laws of the progressive development of Soviet society, but also to reveal in good time, to forecast undesirable trends, to suggest specific steps on their elimination. "Many contradictions of the present, which have been brought about by such progressive phenomena as the scientific and technical revolution, the increase of the well-being, the increase of free time, the increase of the level of education, may also have negative consequences, if they are deprived of comprehensive control--moral, social, political," Candidate

1. See the preceding article of N. N. Bokarev on the basic directions of the use of the results of sociological studies in the activity of party committees.

Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan G. A. Aliyev noted /2/.

Sociological studies are conducted not only by scientific institutions, which have experienced, highly skilled personnel, but also by enterprises, public organizations and, of course, party committees. At present a paradoxical situation has formed: sociological studies have gained enormous popularity and are being conducted everywhere, the system of the professional training of sociologists in practice has not yet been established. It seems to us that this situation is fraught with negative consequences both for sociological science and for practice.

It is not to be doubted that competent sociological studies are conducive to the improvement of the forms and methods of economic organizing and political educational work. But one must also not shut one's eyes to something else. The process of the "sociological boom," which was spontaneous in its essence (according to a rough estimate, in the country about 500,000 people are covered annually by various surveys), gave rise to a number of negative phenomena. First of all it is a matter of the frequently encountered failure to observe the elementary procedural demands which are made both on the tools of the gathering of information and on the procedure of a mass survey. It would seem that there is nothing easier than to draw up and distribute a questionnaire, and then to calculate the percentages. Meanwhile, it is obvious to any specialist that the quality of the source information is ensured by an immense amount of labor, precisely it is the key to the success of a study. It is also impossible not to raise the question of the moral responsibility of the director of a sociological study. There are instances when not only an incompetent person, but also one who is pursuing personal, and at times unseemly goals, undertakes the matter. It is hardly possible to speak of a product of such "sociology."

And finally there is the problem of the organizational status of the study itself. Some managers try "to get hold of" sociologists not on the basis of the interests of the matter, but on the basis of the ambitious desire to have the reputation of being modern, to use sociological data in order to add "lustre" to reports and documents. When shortcomings are discovered during a study, suggestions on the improvement of work are made, the materials of the survey are locked in the safe, while the specialist is dismissed /3, pp 9-10/. As a result, an important and useful matter is compromised.

All these negative consequences of the spread of sociological research in our country "in breadth," and not "in depth" require serious attention to the elaboration of the optimum organizational forms of the activity of sociological services, to the overcoming of the spontaneity in the conducting of surveys and to the strengthening of party political control in this area of work. It seems that Lenin's thesis "better is less, and better" is also fully applicable here.

For a number of years the Lenkoran' City Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan under the scientific supervision of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA has been conducting a social experiment on the establishment of a public sociological service--the council of sociological research. The question of the need for the council, of course, does not raise doubts, it is a question of what kind it should be, what its functions and status are. Within the framework of the

experiment the following tasks are being worked on: the determination of the most effective directions of the activity of the sociological service attached to the party committee of the city (rayon) level; the development of a system of indicators and criteria, which reflect the dynamics of public opinion, on the basis of representative mass surveys of various categories of the population; the elaboration of scientific methods recommendations on the use of sociological information in ideological and political educational work; the determination of the optimum (standard) organizational structure of the council of sociological research; the finding of effective forms and methods of the sociological training of the party economic and ideological aktiv.

In this article we would like not only to inform the readers about the studies conducted by the council (similar work is being performed at a high level by many party organs), but also to tell about the problems which are so far unsolved and to share our views on what the sociological service can give the party committee and on how to use sociological information for increasing the effectiveness of political educational work.

The decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, "On the Serious Shortcomings in the Activity of the Party, Soviet and Economic Organs of Lenkoranskiy Rayon," was adopted in the summer of 1970. What has been done in the years which have passed attests to the enormous creative potentials which are incorporated in skillful, scientifically sound party leadership. Negative phenomena and the recurrences of a private-owner psychology and morals had been a bane to the life of the people. The richest region of the subtropics had become a haven for the embezzlers of socialist property, bribe-takers and money-grubbers. Day and night the speculators sent vegetables to various regions of the country by all types of transport--trucks, trains, airplanes /4, p 527. At present there is no need to speak in detail about how the communists of the rayon waged a consistent, uncompromising struggle for the observance of the principles of socialist legality and morals, for our way of life. However, it should be noted that at that time the party organizations had already learned to rely on public opinion and to purposefully form the moral and political atmosphere. Hero of Socialist Labor I. A. Mamedov, who for more than 10 years held the post of first secretary of the city party committee, made an enormous personal contribution to this work.

At present Lenkoran' is one of the most economically developed regions of the republic, which specializes mainly in the production of agricultural products: early vegetables, fruit, tea. The vegetable growers of the rayon fulfilled the plan assignments of the Ninth Five-Year Plan in 4 years and those of the 10th Five-Year Plan in 3 years and 5 months. In the All-Union Socialist Competition the workers of the rayon have won seven times in a row the Challenge Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU and the Komsomol Central Committee.

The solution of economic problems and the assurance of the profitability of all farms made it possible to achieve an increase of the wages of workers by nearly fourfold, to carry out housing construction on a wide front and to increase the level and quality of the work of schools, institutions of health, culture and personal service. Precisely the economy, in the words of V. I. Lenin, became the main link, by taking hold of which it is possible to pull out the entire chain. Just by having solved the main economic problems, the party organization of the

rayon provided a reliable basis for the systematic improvement of social planning and ideological and political educational work.

In this connection we would like to dwell on the problem of the relationship of economic and social planning. There is no doubt that they are in inseparable unity, but from the point of view of the order of priority indisputable priority belongs to economic tasks. "The absolutization of social factors with the underestimation of economic factors incorrectly orients practice," M. N. Rutkevich notes, "...the fulfillment of the planned production assignment is the chief duty of the labor collective, its primary duty to society.... Social goals are met not entirely and do not perform their mobilizing role, when they are divorced from the tasks on the fulfillment of the economic plan, when the satisfaction of the ripe social needs of the collective is outlined without regard for the real economic possibilities which ensure the meeting of the social goals" [5].

In our opinion, the question of the systematic use of sociological studies in the practice of management and planning should be settled in similar fashion. Wherever the production plans are not fulfilled and idle times and rush work have become customary, sociological studies will hardly be of much use. At best they will correctly reflect the existing state of affairs, which, as it is, is clear to any experienced manager. Sociology can be compared with a precision tool of administrative influence, which is useful only under specific objective and subjective conditions, particularly in the case of the successful solution of the main economic problems. Therefore, sociological services should be set up not everywhere, but only wherever this is necessary and expedient.

It can be confidently said that in Lenkoran' the production and economic problems have by and large been solved. Now the party organization is setting as a goal the effective and purposeful management of ideological and political educational work. In this lies a real prerequisite of the successful development of sociological research and the introduction of its results in practice.

The comprehensive control of the processes of social development, including labor, moral, ideological and political education, faces party organizations with difficult problems which require the rethinking of the established forms and methods of work, and first of all the consideration of the features of the object of educational influence in the specific situation in which it is carried out.

The task is to realize to the greatest extent the instructions of L. I. Brezhnev, which were formulated by him in the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th party congress: "In essence it is a question of the reorganization--yes, I did not make a slip of tongue, precisely of the reorganization--of many sections and spheres of ideological work. It must be seen to that its content becomes more topical, while the forms meet the present requirements and needs of the Soviet people" [1, p 75]

A feature of the socioeconomic development of Lenkoran', which is leaving a definite print on the style, forms and methods of ideological activity, is the high growth rate of the material well-being and standard of living of the population. In the past two five-year plans the wages of workers and employees increased sharply, the level of the consumption of basic foodstuffs and durable goods

rose. The volume of the retail commodity turnover in 1980 was 558 rubles per inhabitant. The amount of the deposits of the population in savings banks in 1979 exceeded the 1975 level by nearly 2.5 fold and came to more than 13 million rubles (the amount of the individual deposit is 895 rubles in the city and 503 rubles in the countryside). According to the data of the survey, 18.3 percent of the workers of sovkhoses, 28.9 percent of the workers of industry and construction and 41.0 percent of the representatives of the intelligentsia wish to purchase a motor vehicle /6, p 105/. Refrigerators, televisions and household appliances are nearly as prevalent in the Lenkoran' countryside as in the city. All this attests to the enormous gains in the matter of increasing the material well-being of the workers.

However, it must not be forgotten that a high level of consumption does not automatically ensure the improvement of the socialist way of life and the strengthening of the communist principles in it. In essence, consumer behavior goes beyond the economic category "the standard of living" and is acquiring a profound moral meaning.

Therefore, the quantitative indicators of the well-being do not determine the essence of the matter. Its spiritual, moral aspect is coming to the forefront here. "It seems," I. A. Mamedov writes, "that the amount of spiritual needs and the degree of their fulfillment determine to a certain extent the efficiency of party work" /4, p 92/.

In our opinion, the experience of the Lenkoran' party organization in allocating private vehicles only to the leaders of production with the discussion of their candidacy at sovkhoses, enterprises and institutions merits extensive dissemination. The fact that the keys to the vehicle are presented to the most deserving people publicly, in a solemn setting, on the holiday of the harvest, has an enormous educational influence. Let us note in passing that it is necessary to eliminate the still encountered opposition of material and moral encouragement, of working "for money" to working "conscientiously." The above-cited example is a specific and effective form of ideological work, which is aimed at increasing the moral prestige of the honestly earned ruble.

Like any party committee, the Lenkoran' City Committee systematically analyzes the data on the fulfillment of the production plans, the output norms, labor productivity, the production cost and output-capital ratio, the amount of housing being built, the attendance of cultural and service institutions and the supply of the population with goods. Information on the number of offenders in different age groups is regularly set on the desk of the secretary. In addition to statistical indicators, the daily study of the opinions of communists and nonparty people is a most important source of party information. The workers of the staff of the city committee and the representatives of the aktiv are in the thick of labor and public life and, as a rule, have a good knowledge of the state of affairs in the organizations.

Sociological studies make it possible, in our opinion, in a fundamentally new way to interpret statistical information and to evaluate the effectiveness of educational influence. For example, it is hardly possible to consider the number of delivered lectures to be an indicator of the effectiveness of propaganda. It is important how the lectures were received by the audience. The increase of the wage is important, but it is no less important to know what the satisfaction with it is. The only source of such information is representative sociological surveys.

The introduction of sociology in practice also requires the revision of some established stereotypes of party organizational work. It is well known that in a year hundreds of typed pages of inquiries, reports, statistical forms and other textual information pass through the staff of the rayon and city committees. A significant portion of it is useless, and this has been noted in the party press. The data of surveys can become only a "makeweight" for this collection, if the flow of information is not streamlined (and reduced). The sociological studies of the work within the party are called upon to play a significant role in this.

Let us dwell on some results of the sociological studies conducted by the council. The first of them (1980) was devoted to the study of the labor and social activity of the employed population of the rayon (600 people were surveyed), the second (1981) was devoted to the public opinion of the workers on the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress (400 people were surveyed).²

Labor activity occupies a most important place in the life of people. The information on their satisfaction with various elements of the labor situation is of particular interest for the practice of party work. Since satisfaction reflects the appraisal by the worker of certain aspects or others of his labor, these indicators to a certain extent attest to the effectiveness of the activity of the administration and public organizations of enterprises and institutions.

Let us dwell on the question of which indicator is most important for practice: the number of those satisfied or those dissatisfied. In our opinion, the number of those dissatisfied should be used as the base indicator, although this may also seem "awkward." The reasoning is as follows: those, for whom a precise opinion has been formed, usually give negative responses, while those respondents, who do not have a definite opinion or for certain reasons or others hide it, are inclined to answer affirmatively: the "negative" indicators warn more "uncompromisingly" of shortcomings.

It hardly makes sense to give a complete analysis of Table 1. Let us note its most important features, which served as the subject of an interesting discussion in the party organizations of the rayon. First of all, the data of the survey attest to indisputable gains in the matter of the creation of a favorable work atmosphere in the collectives and the correct selection of managerial personnel. The number of negative appraisals of the relations in the collective and the relations with managers is negligible.

At the same time the following figure aroused serious alarm among the communists of the rayon: at the vegetable canning combine 63.4 percent are dissatisfied with the procedure of distributing bonuses. Specific steps to correct the situation were taken in this case. Another matter is the substantial differences in the satisfaction with wages and the distribution of travel authorizations to sanatoria among the workers and intelligentsia of the rayon, especially among the teachers of rural schools. It is impossible to solve this problem quickly. Measures on the improvement of the working conditions of the intelligentsia and employees are envisaged in the plan of the socioeconomic development of Lenkoran'.

2. The study was conducted in accordance with the program elaborated by F. E. Sheregi.

Table 1

Degree of Satisfaction of Workers of Enterprises and Institutions of Lenkoran' With Various Aspects of Labor Individually by Socio-Occupational Groups, Percent of Those Who Expressed Dissatisfaction

Some elements of the labor situation	Workers of cultural institutions	Teachers		Physicians and intermediate medical personnel	Workers of sovkhoses	Workers of vegetable canning combine	Construction workers
		urban schools	rural schools				
Wages.	48.3	38.6	60.0	43.4	15.0	28.1	18.7
Possibility of occupational advancement	6.6	27.0	15.0	37.7	35.8	19.9	47.9
Relations in the collective	1.6	0.0	0.9	1.9	0.8	0.0	0.0
Relations with managers	1.6	0.0	0.9	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
Organization of labor.	1.7	7.9	10.3	3.8	2.5	2.8	4.1
Procedure of distributing bonuses.	--	--	--	--	6.6	63.4	16.7
Amount of bonus.	--	--	--	--	8.3	15.0	16.7
Procedure of distributing travel authorizations to sanatoria and holiday homes.	35.0	42.7	55.5	35.8	0.8	18.3	29.1

In addition to information on the labor activity of the population, the sociological study made it possible to establish interesting features of the spending of nonworking time /7/. The traditional tenor of life of the people of Lenkoran' is responsible for the great busyness with household labor and the keeping of a private plot; at the same time the role of interpersonal contacts in the structure of free time is very great. It is necessary to take this into account when determining the most effective channels of mass information and propaganda.

The problem of consumer behavior was discussed above. The data of the study made it possible not only to establish the unsatisfied demand for many goods, but also to identify the dominant orientations of various strata of the population toward the consumption of spiritual values, housekeeping or the acquisition of luxury items /6/.

The more than 100 sociological indicators included in the study made it possible to draw an integral and at the same time a differentiated picture of the way of life of the population. Many of the trends identified during the survey confirmed the opinion of experienced workers, but the main thing is that the results of the study made it possible with the figures and facts in hand to raise the question of

the end results of educational activity. The increase of its effectiveness and efficiency presumes the overcoming of the "gross" approach to this sphere of social practice, the rejection of the pursuit of the number of measures and so forth, the elaboration of those indicators which would reflect the comprehensive approach to the matter of communist education.

At times sociologists propose complex integral indicator-indices which, as a rule, it is hard to use in practice. In our opinion, the efficiency of educational work can be measured indirectly in the most common attributes. Above we spoke about the importance of the "negative" indicators of satisfaction. We consider the observance of the norms of the socialist way of life to be another most important indicator for practical party work. "When waging an intense struggle against the militant antipodes of communist morals, we lose sight at times of the spiritual defects of man," I. A. Mamedov writes. "These are rudeness and boorishness, the disrespect of people and vanity, the reluctance to take into account the opinion of comrades and unhealthy ambition" /4, p 57/. Of course, it is difficult to identify the moral principles of a person by sociological methods, but the indirect, "quasi-expert" question of whether instances of deviate behavior are frequently encountered, was used in our study.

In the opinion of the respondents, an unconscientious attitude toward labor, toadyism, servility, greed, the aspiration "to oblige the little man of one's family," to take more than one returns to people and so forth are still not unusual. Moreover, the figures obtained at different enterprises and institutions differ substantially. Such information, although it does not make it possible to find the person directly to blame, serves as an indicator of the effectiveness of the ideological educational work of public organizations.

An important role in the increase of the effectiveness of propaganda and agitation belongs to sociological studies. The promotion and explanation to the workers of the materials of the 26th party congress at present are of particular importance. It is well known that such a major political event as a party congress steps up public opinion and makes it possible to ascertain more thoroughly the opinions of the workers on the problems of the socioeconomic, political, moral and cultural development of society.

Among the sources of mass information, which cover the materials of the congress (see Table 2), the most extensively used are television (94.2 percent), republic newspapers (82.9 percent) and radio (80.1 percent). As to political and economic education, political reports, lectures and discussions, the range of their effect is considerably narrower. Such information makes it possible to study and make the necessary adjustments in propaganda activity and to plan more precisely the interaction of the various forms, methods and means of ideological work.

And the last question, on which it is necessary to dwell, is the structure and organizational forms of the activity of the council of sociological research.

As was already stated, Lenkoranskiy Rayon does not have a staff of sociologists. This situation is quite typical of the majority of party committees of the rayon (city) level. The scientific supervision of the studies in Lenkoran' is carried out by consultants. In our opinion, the elaboration of the program and tools of

research is the exclusive prerogative of the specialist. The public council should carry out the gathering, coding and, if the opportunity exists, the processing of the data (which also requires great skill and experience), but should devote the main attention to the interpretation of the results and their introduction in practice.

Table 2

Primary Use of Various Sources of Information on the 26th CPSU Congress
Individually by Socio-Occupational Groups, Percent

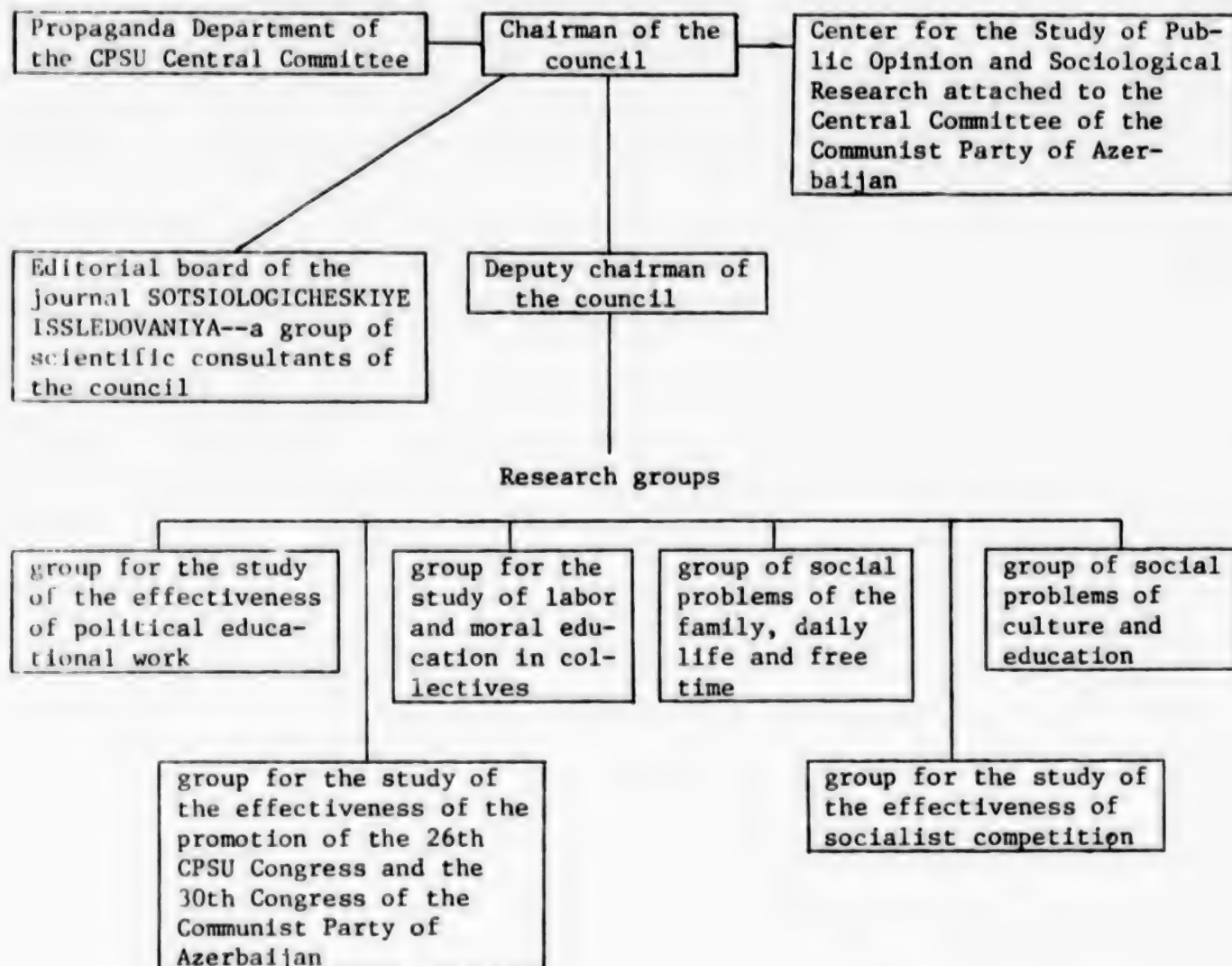
Sources of information	Socio-occupational affiliation				Total
	Teachers	Engineers	Workers	Agricultural workers	
Radio.	90.0	73.5	70.8	94.2	80.1
Television	86.7	92.4	95.3	97.5	94.2
Studies in the system of political and economic education . . .	30.0	62.1	70.8	80.8	66.9
Political reports.	33.3	59.8	47.2	80.0	60.1
Discussions of propagandist. . .	26.7	55.3	50.9	75.0	57.6
Lectures, reports.	46.7	65.2	55.7	72.5	62.9
Party, Komsomol meetings	43.3	67.4	74.5	78.3	70.2
Central newspapers	73.3	75.8	72.6	88.3	78.3
Republic newspapers.	83.3	79.5	80.2	90.0	82.9
Oblast, city newspapers.	76.7	75.8	67.0	85.0	75.5
In-house newspapers or radio of enterprise	43.3	55.3	36.8	78.3	56.3
Discussions with comrades at work, in studies, at place of residence.	53.3	65.2	42.5	75.8	60.9
Discussions in the family. . . .	63.3	56.8	36.8	65.0	53.5

At present it is already possible to draw an outline of the standard sociological service attached to the city (rayon) committee of the party. Its organizational status is similar to the public commission or council with all the rights and duties which follow from this. The second secretary of the city committee is the chairman of the council in Lenkoran', the chief of the department of propaganda and agitation is his deputy. The executives of the council establish direct contact with the Center for the Study of Public Opinion and Sociological Research attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan and with scientific consultants.

Party, trade union and Komsomol workers, teachers, statistics specialists, planners, workers of the personnel divisions, the divisions of labor and wages--those who by the nature of their activity are directly involved in the planning of the social development of the collectives--are on the council. In addition to the members of the council, its representatives at the enterprises and institutions of the rayon participate in the conducting of the studies.

The structure of the sociological service which was formed in Lenkoran' is not fixed. As is evident from the diagram, we duplicate the structure of the research collective. Now that some experience has been gained, it is also possible to propose another version--to set up groups which treat individual sectors: industry and transportation, sovkhoses, schools and so forth. Only where skilled specialists are available is it advisable to organize a sociological service along research lines.

Structure of the Council of Sociological Research Attached to the Lenkoran' City Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan



The sociological training of the aktiv is one of the most difficult problems of the formation of the council. Of course, it is not a question of the acquisition of theoretical scientific knowledge, but everyone, to whom such an important and responsible matter as sociological work has been assigned, is obligated to have an idea of the methods of gathering information, sampling and the demands on the

Interviewer. At present a school of the sociologist, the studies at which are conducted by scientific consultants, operates in the Lenkoran' City Committee. Its syllabus includes the following questions: "Sociological Research and the Practice of Building Communism," "The Compiling of the Program and the Organization of the Applied Sociological Study," "The Methods of Gathering and Processing Information" and so forth. In our opinion, the universities of Marxism-Leninism should be used more extensively for the training of sociological personnel. For example, the sociological faculty of the University of Marxism-Leninism attached to the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU, the studies at which are conducted by well-known Soviet scientists, is operating successfully /8/. Moreover, the retraining or "further training" of personnel in courses for the improvement of skills and at seminars, which operate at the leading scientific and educational institutions of the country and have highly skilled staffs of researchers and educators, should be developed more intensively /9/.

What is the practical potential of the sociological service of the city committee? The response to this question is ambiguous. Reliable sociological information, undoubtedly, affords extensive opportunities for the search for new forms and methods of the management of the socioeconomic development of collectives and the timely identification of shortcomings. "However, no matter how good the obtained information is, it does not automatically turn into decisions, into practical deeds" /3, p 9/. For the present these possibilities remain in fact unrealized. It is necessary to increase the attention to social experimentation on the basis of the goal programs, which have been elaborated jointly with party organs, and to seek new organizational forms of the introduction of scientific achievements.

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CSO: 1806/18

TOWARD THE 10TH WORLD CONGRESS OF SOCIOLOGY

SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE CORRELATION OF THE SOCIAL AND THE BIOLOGICAL

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 60-70

/Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Igor' Nikolayevich Smirnov, academician secretary of the Department of Philosophy and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Sociological Aspects of the Correlation of the Social and the Biological"/

/Not translated by JPRS/

MANAGERIAL REVOLUTION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 71-83

/Article by Al'bert Ivanovich Kravchenko, junior research associate of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The 'Revolution of Managers': Has Property Been Separated From Production Control?"/

/Not translated by JPRS/

CSO: 1806/18

APPLIED RESEARCH

SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE RETOOLING OF ENTERPRISES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 84-90

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences Leonid Solomonovich Blyakhman, professor of the Economics Faculty of Leningrad State University, and Yevgeniya Ivanovna Krasavtseva, junior research associate of the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Social Consequences of the Retooling of Enterprises"]

[Text] Scientific and technical progress, the mechanization and automation of industrial production have an ambiguous influence on the nature and content of the labor of workers. The introduction of new technology, accessories and tools and the modernization of equipment are conducive to the elimination of manual labor, difficult and harmful types of jobs and, if taken as a whole, to the solution of not only economic, but also social problems. At the same time in the case of the renovation and retooling of enterprises priority is frequently assigned to narrow production goals, the aspiration to simplify to the utmost and to regulate the technological process is observed. The inadequate consideration of social factors when designing new equipment leads to negative social consequences: monotonous mechanized labor is of just as little appeal as unskilled manual labor.

During the sociological study conducted in Leningrad in 1980 by the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences, about 500 workers of those industrial enterprises, at which during the past 5 years substantial changes had occurred in the technology and organization of production, were surveyed. In particular, the proportion of those engaged in automated labor in the examined sections had increased from 0.4 to 27.4 percent, in mechanized labor--from 1.2 to 13.8 percent, while the proportion of those engaged in manual labor (not in the presence of machines and devices) decreased from 76.4 to 37.4 percent.

Following renovation a portion of the workers (for the most part middle-aged, less educated and unskilled) were transferred to other sections. Of those working in the renovated sections, 51.6 percent are young people. At the enterprises as a whole this indicator is 32 percent. The proportion of those having a complete secondary education is respectively 73 and 47 percent, while the average category is 4.0 and 3.2.

However, the appraisal of the changes in the content of labor is ambiguous. The majority of those surveyed note an increased skills level and degree of independence of labor, the possibility to use their knowledge more completely. At the

same time for 44-50 percent of the workers the introduction of new equipment did not require an increase of the level of knowledge, for half the diversity of work did not increase (for 6-11 percent the possibility of switching from one operation to another even decreased). To a considerable degree for this reason 47 percent of the workers in the sections, in which the average duration of operations was especially short, expressed the desire to transfer to a different shop in their former specialty.

As the study showed, the appraisal of the changes in the content of labor depends substantially on the occupation: the majority of inspectors of the technical control divisions, all-round machine tool operators and adjusters noted positive changes in its diversity, but the level of monotony of labor did not decrease substantially (see Table 1) and, moreover, in the opinion of 28.2 percent of the machine operators and 23.1 percent of the inspectors of the technical control divisions, even increased.

Table 1

Proportion of Workers Who Rated Favorably the Changes of Various Aspects of the Content of Labor, Percent

Occupation	Changes of the content of labor				
	diversity increased	monotony decreased	use of knowledge increased	independence increased	skills level increased
All-round machine tool operator. . . .	59.2	7.9	71.0	78.9	77.7
Machine tool operator	41.7	10.4	33.4	58.4	41.7
Adjuster	50.9	20.0	60.0	67.3	80.0
Mechanic	30.8	18.0	60.1	74.3	83.4
Inspector of technical control division	69.2	7.2	7.0	61.6	53.9
Operator of flow line	44.8	15.2	45.3	61.4	61.4
Laborer.	14.3	0.0	14.3	57.2	42.9

It should be noted that the indicators of the content of labor and the economic impact from the assimilation of new equipment have the same trend: with an increase of labor productivity 48.7 percent of the workers indicated a greater diversity of the operations being performed, while where labor productivity had increased 1.5-fold or more, labor become more diverse owing to the combination of operations and occupations for 59 percent of the workers.

In the retooled sections the skills level of labor increased for 65-70 percent of the workers, in the remaining sections it increased for 26-35 percent. Among the workers who noted an increase of the demands on this aspect of labor, productivity increased for 67-76 percent (with the stability of these demands it increased for only 41 percent, while with a decrease--for 4-5 percent). Other indicators of the content of labor also reveal the correlation with the changes of the economic

impacts of scientific and technical progress (see Table 2). Thus, a very close relationship is observed between the increase of the opportunity to use one's knowledge¹ and the satisfaction with the mechanization of labor ($K=0.158$), the relations in the collective ($K=0.145$) and so on.

Table 2

Correlations of Changes in the Content of Labor and the Indicators of Technical and Economic Development (Cramer Coefficient)

Changes in content of labor	Labor productivity	Delivery of products on first presentation	Output of products without defects	Economy of materials	Output-capital ratio	Increase of wages
Increase of diversity.	0.223	0.151	0.157	0.138	0.156	0.143
Increase of skills level.	0.143	0.142	0.148	0.131	0.135	0.116
Increase of degree of use of knowledge	0.122	0.133	0.122	0.092	0.138	0.177
Increase of independence	0.126	0.168	0.168	0.110	0.110	0.188

The changes in the content of the job have a substantial influence on the satisfaction with various elements of the labor situation and the potential stability of the collective (see Table 3). Here the changes in the content of labor, as was already noted, are due to the retooling of production. In those sections in which it was carried out, the degree of independence in the job increased for 70 percent of those surveyed, while in the other sections it increased for only 23.7 percent. As is evident from Table 4, the skills level increased for the majority of workers of mechanized and automated labor, as well as for those engaged in the service and adjustment of machines, and for only half of the workers, whose labor also remained manual after renovation.

The data attest to a steady dependence between the content of labor and the satisfaction of the workers with the labor situation (see Table 3). The influence of the factor of the skills level on the satisfaction with relations with the administration is ambiguous. Conflicts connected with the nonconformity of the operations being performed to the skills and education predominated in the case of a decrease of this indicator. In the case of its substantial increase the nature of the conflicts changes--complaints are made first of all against the level of the organization of labor. Wherever the monotony has decreased, 50-53 percent of the respondents consider the job being performed to conform with their spiritual needs (in the remaining sections 26-41 percent do), 83-85 percent are satisfied with the relations with managers (53-55 percent). With a significant decrease of the monotony of labor as a result of renovation 92 percent of the workers intend to stay at the former

1. Among those who received a greater opportunity to use their knowledge, 82-94 percent are satisfied with their job as a whole, only 4.4 percent want to change collective and 3.4 percent want to change specialty.

place, with its slight decrease--71 percent, in the case of a stable situation--less than 40 percent. Meanwhile, as was already noted, renovation did not lead to a substantial decrease of the monotony of labor, while in a number of instances the latter even increased.

Table 3

Ratio of the Ratings by Workers of Various Elements of the Labor Situation and the Changes in the Content of Labor (Percent of the Number of Workers Who Gave the Corresponding Rating of the Change in the Content of Labor)

Rating of changes in the content of labor	Dissatisfaction with relations with administration	Dissatisfaction with job as a whole	Dissatisfaction with job at given enterprise	Dissatisfaction with one's specialty	Satisfaction with labor at one's workplace
Diversity of job					
worsened significantly.	100.0	100.0	33.3	33.3	0.0
worsened.	17.7	29.4	29.4	17.6	23.5
did not change.	12.3	9.9	10.7	4.7	68.8
improved.	7.4	5.5	4.9	8.0	72.4
improved substantially.	3.1	4.7	1.6	4.7	75.0
Independence in job					
decreased significantly	100.0	56.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
decreased	66.6	32.9	0.0	33.3	33.3
did not change.	15.2	14.8	11.6	5.5	66.5
increased	7.1	6.3	7.1	7.1	71.7
increased substantially	6.6	6.5	6.5	5.4	67.4
Skills level of labor					
decreased significantly	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0
decreased	14.3	21.4	14.0	28.6	57.1
did not change.	10.8	12.8	12.8	5.4	62.4
increased	8.0	9.2	8.0	5.1	72.6
increased substantially	14.3	5.9	4.1	2.2	72.4

What has been said makes it possible to draw the conclusion that the indicators of the breakdown of workers by the level of the mechanization of labor, as well as the skills level of the job, the degree of its independence, diversity, monotony and the possibility of using one's knowledge characterize the important social effects of scientific and technical progress, and not only its economic results, but also the satisfaction with labor and the stability of personnel.

At the same time the analysis of the interconnection of technical, economic and social changes attests: when planning renovation the economic parameters first

of all are taken into account. Thus, 69 percent of those surveyed noted an increase of labor productivity in connection with the introduction of new equipment (1.2 percent noted a decrease), 65-68 percent--an increase of product quality (1.2-1.4 percent), 36 percent--the saving of materials (2.6 percent), 29.4 percent--an increase of the output-capital ratio (3.4 percent), while only 14 percent noted an increase of the monotony of the job. The statistical data also confirm that new equipment is oriented primarily toward the saving of living labor and the increase of product quality, while the changes in its content are not specifically forecast and appear only as a side effect of scientific and technical progress.

Table 4

Changes of the Skills Level of Labor After Renovation Subject to the Level of Mechanization, Percent

Degree of mechanization of labor	Skills level of labor				
	decreased significantly	decreased	no change	increased	increased substantially
Manual labor not at machines. . . .	--	--	50.0	12.5	37.5
Skilled manual labor.	--	--	46.2	34.6	19.2
Manual labor at machines	--	4.5	25.1	50.3	20.1
Setting up, adjustment of machines	--	1.8	20.0	49.1	29.1
Mechanized labor	--	0.4	30.5	46.4	22.7
Automated labor.	1.5	2.9	32.1	50.4	13.1

Among the social results of the introduction of new equipment those surveyed put in first place the improvement of working conditions. Nevertheless, only 69 percent of the inspectors of the technical control divisions, 53 percent of the mechanics and only 14-35 percent of the workers of other occupations noted a decrease of environmental pollution. Positive changes of the microclimate at the workplace occurred for 42 percent of the mechanics and only 8-31 percent of the workers of other occupations. Only among mechanics and laborers, who are not involved in the operation of machines, did the number of positive ratings predominate over the negative ratings.

A decrease of the physical workloads is indicated most often by mechanics and the operators of flow lines (22-31 percent), neuropsychological loads--all-round machine tool operators and mechanics (20-27 percent), the increase of the smoothness of work--adjusters, operators and mechanics (26-40 percent). The majority of machine tool operators and mechanics (65-69 percent) note an improvement of labor safety techniques as a result of the use of new equipment, while about one-third of the operators at machine tools and flow lines also note a decrease of the danger of occupational diseases.

The data of the survey testify to very significant fluctuations of the working conditions depending on the occupation, and within it on the section in which the worker is employed, which attests to the ineffectiveness of the consolidated differentiation of the wage rates within this sphere by groups of occupations. This differentiation should be made as is done at the Volga Motor Vehicle Plant, on the basis of the analytical evaluation of the working conditions at each workplace, that is, it should take into account the classification of the workplaces, and not only of the occupations.

A significant relationship of the changes of working conditions with the economic impacts of the performed renovation is noted (see Table 5). Among the workers for whom labor productivity increased, 29 percent (in the case of a significant increase of the output, 43 percent) note an improvement of the provision of sanitary and general facilities, 82.4 percent--a decrease of the difficulty of labor, 85.7 percent--a decrease of the neuropsychological loads, 64.6 percent--a decrease of the danger of injuries and accidents, 22.9 percent--an improvement of the conditions of relaxation during the lunch break.

Table 5

Correlation of Working Conditions and the Indicators of Technical and Economic Development (Cramer Coefficient)

Working conditions	Labor productivity	Delivery of parts on first presentation	Output of parts without defects	Economy of materials	Use of equipment
Provision with sanitary and general facilities. . .	0.170	0.130	0.128	X	0.118
Physical workload	0.131	0.147	0.118	X	0.137
Neuropsychological load . .	0.152	0.186	0.138	X	X
State of labor safety techniques.	0.173	0.170	0.147	0.183	0.151
Conditions of relaxation during breaks	0.215	0.178	0.159	0.163	X
Microclimate in premises. X		0.127	0.141	X	0.139
Vibration and noise . . . X		0.121	0.130	X	X
Danger of occupational diseases.	X	0.161	0.121	X	0.129
Environmental pollution . X		X	0.119	X	0.132

X--the relations are insignificant.

The analysis of the relationship of the changes of working conditions with the satisfaction of workers with their labor testifies to the importance of working conditions in the overall system of the social consequences of scientific and technical progress. The improvement of the microclimate at the workplace is especially significant ($K=0.289$). With the increase of the provision of sanitary and general facilities 84.1 percent were satisfied with the job as a whole. The decrease of the physical difficulty of labor ($K=0.194$) and especially of the neuropsychological loads has just as significant an influence on the satisfaction with the job and the potential turnover of personnel (especially among women) (see

Table 6). As we see, the changes in the intensity of labor have a very great effect on the relations with the administration and on the overall satisfaction with labor. Among the respondents who noted a substantial increase of the intensity, only 1.8 percent propose to remain at the former workplace ($K=0.173$).

Table 6

Change of Neuropsychological Loads as a Result of the Retooling of Production and Their Influence on the Satisfaction With Relations With the Administration (SA) and the Job as a Whole (SJ)

Nature of change of neuropsychological load	Satisfaction with labor situation									
	low		quite low		average		quite high		high	
	SA	SJ	SA	SJ	SA	SJ	SA	SJ	SA	SJ
Increased substantially. . . .	26.9	7.7	26.8	38.5	3.8	11.5	34.8	30.8	7.7	11.5
Increased.	3.7	--	14.0	13.9	17.7	15.2	35.4	62.0	29.1	8.9
Remained as before	2.8	0.3	4.4	6.3	7.9	14.5	50.5	56.5	34.4	22.4
Decreased.	--	--	--	--	11.9	8.8	55.7	57.4	32.4	33.8
Decreased substantially. . . .	--	10.0	--	--	40.0	40.0	40.0	40.0	20.0	10.0

The influence of other parameters of the working conditions on the stability of the collective is also quite great. Thus, in those sections in which renovation led to an increase of the physical workloads, only 46-53 percent intend to remain at the former workplace, in the case of the stable intensity of labor this proportion increases to 68 percent, while in the case of its decrease--to 71-82 percent. The danger of occupational diseases ($K=0.163$), the conditions of relaxation during breaks ($K=0.148$) and the state of labor safety techniques ($K=0.137$) are of slightly less, but also substantial importance for the stabilization of personnel.

The analysis of the interrelationship of the appraisals of the fatigue of workers by the end of the shift and their satisfaction with their labor testifies to this. The workers link fatigue first of all with the sanitary and hygiene conditions of labor ($K=0.210$), then with the level of mechanization ($K=0.162$), with the provision of sanitary and general facilities ($K=0.148$) and with the level of the organization of labor ($K=0.142$).

The changes in working conditions are the most important social consequence of the retooling of production. Thus, in the sections which had and had not undergone renovation, respectively 19.8 and 5.6 percent of those surveyed noted an improvement of lighting, 21.6 and 3.2 percent--an improvement of the environment, 12.6 and 2.8 percent--the microclimate, 13.4 and 1.2 percent--the provision with sanitary and general facilities, 16.6 and 2.6 percent--the shiftwork and the smoothness of work, 10.0 and 2.8 percent--the conditions of relaxation during the break, 6.8 and 1.6 percent--a decrease of vibration and noise, 12.6 and 2.0 percent--the physical workloads, 8.6 and 1.0 percent--neuropsychological loads, 34.0 and 7.7 percent--the danger of injuries, 13.4 and 2.8 percent--the danger of occupational diseases. In other words, the 11 parameters of the working conditions were closely connected with scientific and technical progress, and the information on their changes, according to the data of the sociological study, is quite reliable. At the same

time the indicators of the working conditions (except for the labor safety techniques) still are not being taken into account enough in the planning and the evaluation of the consequences of renovation. This especially concerns the neuro-psychological strain of labor.

Such a social impact of scientific and technical progress as the improvement of the organization of the labor process also merits close attention. In the estimation of 27.6 percent of the workers, renovation led to an improvement of the organization of production, 68.2 percent did not notice changes, while 4.2 percent noted even some worsening of the service of workplaces in connection with the increased demands on the observance of delivery dates and on the list of accessories. Only 7.6 percent of those surveyed expressed complete satisfaction with this aspect of the labor situation, 39.4 percent--partial satisfaction; 6.0 percent expressed complete dissatisfaction, 25.2 percent--partial dissatisfaction, that is, the number of positive appraisals has a comparatively small advantage. Only one aspect of the organization of labor is rated highly--the shift nature of work (76.8 percent of the positive appraisals). This is connected with the fact that the increase of the production capacities of the sections made it possible to decrease the night shifts.

The increase of skills and wages is among the most significant secondary social results of scientific and technical progress. It should be noted that whereas 73.2 percent of the workers expressed satisfaction with the level of wages (only 14.8 percent expressed dissatisfaction), only 41.2 percent rate favorably the effectiveness of the systems of the norm setting of labor and wages (27.6 percent gave a negative rating).

The data of the study testify to a gap between the rate of retooling and the development of the system of the improvement of the skills of workers. The following fact is alarming: in the renovated sections only 11.0 percent had completed courses on the study of the new equipment and 24.6 percent had completed technical and vocational courses, while 62.2 percent of the workers had not undergone any retraining at all. Only 35 percent of those surveyed use at the workplace the know-how of the best workers and another 8.6 percent are acquainted with it in general outline.

In our opinion, it is necessary to approach in a more differentiated manner the determination of the level of skills; in particular, it is expedient to increase the number of gradations of occupational skill by the conferring of special titles. At present the experienced workers, having achieved the highest category, lose the stimulus for further growth. For example, during the study it was established: 54 percent of the workers with a length of service of more than 10 years during all this time never improved their skills. In the case of a length of service of more than 10 years in the given occupation and in the given collective 36-43 percent of those surveyed do not improve their skills in organized form. And here it is not a question of age. Among those who are content with the achieved level of occupational skill and education, nearly half are people under the age of 30. But the improvement of the skills of workers also affects their creative activity. Those who have completed special-purpose courses take part in rationalization nearly 1.5-fold more often and use the know-how of leaders much more extensively.

The analysis of the conformity of the technical base of production and the training of workers is the task of an independent study. But even now it is clear: the indicators of the skills and wages of workers can and should be taken into account when evaluating the social results of scientific and technical progress.

In conclusion let us note that the further study of the criteria and indicators of the social effectiveness of scientific and technical progress will make it possible to substantiate the broadening of the sphere of their use in the comprehensive planning of the economic and social development of labor collectives, regions and sectors.

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MIGRATORY PROCESSES IN THE REGION OF THE KANSK-ACHINSK FUEL AND POWER COMPLEX

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 90-93

/Article by Nadezhda Nikolayevna Nozdrina, junior research associate of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Systems Research of the State Committee for Science and Technology and the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Migratory Processes in the Region of the Kansk-Achinsk Fuel and Power Complex"

/Text/ Population migration has a profound influence on the progress of regional development and in many ways determines the direction of social policy. The study of migratory processes is acquiring particular importance in connection with the intensification of social production, an important condition of which is the mobility of the manpower which is being attracted today not only by new construction projects, but also by the rapid increase of the number of workplaces in industry of large and medium-sized cities. The aggravation of the shortage of manpower resources, which is anticipated in the immediate future, is increasing substantially the demands on the control of migration and is responsible for the expediency of a differentiated approach and the consideration of the interests and preferences of specific sociodemographic groups.

The main task of the sociological survey of the working population of the cities of Nazarovo and Sharypovo, which are located in the zone of the Kansk-Achinsk Fuel and Power Complex (KATEK), and of the city of Sosnovoborsk (near Krasnoyarsk) consisted in the establishment of the influence of the social infrastructure on the appraisal by the population of the living conditions and on the migratory behavior.¹

The cities of Sharypovo and Nazarovo are the leading local centers of the western part of KATEK. In the former of them the construction of the open pit and the GRES

1. The survey was conducted by the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Systems Research of the State Committee for Science and Technology and the USSR Academy of Sciences jointly with sociologists of the Krasnoyarsk Polytechnical Institute in 1979. About 1,200 people were surveyed. The sample is representative for the representatives of the main spheres of employment at the Kansk-Achinsk Fuel and Power Complex (coal mining, power engineering, machine building, construction, the service sectors). The processing of the data by means of the method of determinational analysis / 1 / was carried out at the computer complex of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Systems Research in the dialogue mode on a YeS-1040 computer.

and the development of the city infrastructure are only beginning; in the latter the main units of the infrastructure, the GRES and the open-pit coal mine have already been in operation for a number of years. Sosnovoborsk, which is in the zone of direct influence of Krasnoyarsk, was included among the objects of the survey for comparison with these cities, the development of which is taking place for the most part autonomously, without the support of established large centers.²

According to the results of the survey, 44 percent of the residents of Sharypovo intend to remain in this city, 25 percent intend to leave here (soon or in the future), 31 percent do not have a definite point of view on this; for Nazarovo the corresponding figures are 50, 22 and 28 percent. Such are the general data. The analysis of the situation as applied to individual sociodemographic groups, which were broken down, in particular, by the period of residence in the given population center and by the age of those surveyed, showed that these attributes very strongly differentiate the structure of the aims.

Thus, if we single out from the entire group of respondents, on the one hand, the people who have lived here for more than 10 years and, on the other, those who have lived here a comparatively short time--respectively old residents and newcomers--it will turn out that their migratory aims differ substantially (see Table 1). It is possible in turn to divide the latter group into migrants from Siberia, the Urals and the Far East and migrants from other regions of the country (let us call them old residents and newcomers of the eastern regions). The materials of the study attest: especially appreciable differences are observed between the old residents of the surveyed population centers and the newcomers of the eastern regions. Moreover, in spite of the fact that the development of the infrastructure of Sharypovo and Nazarovo is at a different level--in the former it is only beginning to be formed, while in the latter it has already been completely established--the structure of the migratory aims in both cities is quite similar.

Table 1

Structure of the Migratory Aims of the Population of the Cities of Sharypovo and Nazarovo Subject to the Migratory Status of the Respondents, Percent

City	Migratory status	Want to remain	Want to leave	Do not have a definite aim
Sharypovo.	old resident	62	17	21
	newcomer	33	31	36
Nazarovo	old resident	54	19	27
	newcomer	36	33	31

A generalized picture of the migratory aims of the urban population of the entire KATEK subject to the migratory "prehistory" of the respondents is presented in Table 2.

2. Further in the article, when analyzing the pattern of migration only the data for the cities of Sharypovo and Nazarovo are used.

Table 2

Structure of the Migratory Aims of the Urban Population of the Zone of KATEK
Subject to the Migratory Status, Percent

Migratory status	Want to remain	Want to leave	Do not have a definite aim
Old residents of Nazarovo and Sharypovo. . .	57	18	25
Old residents of eastern regions	40	30	30
Newcomers of eastern regions	25	35	40

The substantial influence on the mobility of the population of age, which also strongly differentiates the structure of the migratory aims, and in a manner similar for both cities, was detected during the survey (Table 3).

Table 3

Structure of the Migratory Aims of the Urban Population of the Zone of KATEK
Subject to the Age of the Respondents, Percent

Age	Want to remain	Want to leave	Do not have a definite aim
Up to 25 years.	26	38	36
25-29 years	50	19	31
40 years and older.	60	20	20

Here it is necessary to note the great potential mobility of young people up to the age of 25 and the greater definiteness, as compared with others, in the migratory aims of the representatives of the older age group. Even more distinct differences appear in the case of the simultaneous examination of both factors--migratory status and age (Table 4).

Table 4

Structure of the Migratory Aims of the Urban Population of the Zone of KATEK
Subject to the Migratory Status and Age of the Respondents, Percent

Migratory status and age of respondents	Want to remain	Want to leave	Do not have a definite aim
Old residents of surveyed cities at the age of:			
up to 25 years.	38	29	33
25-39 years	58	15	27
40 years and older.	64	18	18
Old residents of eastern regions at the age of:			
up to 25 years.	20	46	34
25-39 years	49	20	31
40 years and older.	54	31	15
Newcomers of eastern regions at the age of:			
up to 25 years.	9	47	44
25-39 years	30	30	40
40 years and older.	27	27	46

The aim to remain is most strongly pronounced among old residents in the groups over 40 years old (64 percent) and 25-39 years old (58 percent). People up to the age of 25 are oriented more than the others toward moving, and this is both among newcomers and among old residents of eastern regions (respectively 47 and 46 percent).

In contrast to the migratory status and age, the influence of the level of education in the cities being studied is different. Thus, whereas in Nazarovo in the group of people younger than 25 with an increase of education the number of those who desire to remain in this city decreases (37 percent among those having a secondary education, 29 percent--a secondary specialized education and 11 percent--a higher education), the exact opposite trend is characteristic of Sharypovo: 15, 26 and 38 percent respectively.

This situation is explained, in our opinion, by the fact that in Nazarovo, an already established city, it is easier to continue studies after the 8-year and 10-year school, but the conditions of job placement, job advancement and the obtaining of housing for those who have already completed their education here are less favorable than in Sharypovo, which is developing rapidly and is experiencing an acute shortage of specialists. These features should be taken into account when implementing measures on the attachment of young personnel in cities of various types.

The influence of the level of education on the migratory aims of old residents is also different. The higher it is among the latter in Nazarovo, the less pronounced their aims are at remaining (66, 54 and 39 percent). In Sharypovo these indicators are respectively 56, 60 and 71 percent.

Within the educational groups themselves substantial differences are also observed subject to the migratory status and age of the respondents. Thus, whereas among the old residents of Sharypovo, who have a higher education, the aim to remain is noted in 71 percent of the cases, while the aim of leaving is noted in 21 percent, among newcomers these values are equal to 29 and 44 percent. Among specialists up to the age of 25 38 percent wish to remain, while 50 percent wish to leave, in the group over the age of 25 they are respectively 46 and 34 percent. For Nazarovo the analogous figures were 11 and 55 percent among people up to the age of 25 and 35 and 29 percent among people over the age of 25.

In the groups with a lower level of education the differentiating influence of age increases. For example, in Sharypovo 15 percent of the young people with a secondary education would like to remain and 33 percent would like to leave (in the absence of a definite aim in 52 percent of the cases), while the corresponding indicators among people over the age of 25 are 51, 14 and 34 percent.

The sociodemographic groups examined in the article form, in our opinion, the fundamental structure, within which the bases of migratory behavior are formed. Subsequently the differences, which are created by the living conditions (that is, the factors or parameters as such of the migratory process), are superimposed on

this structure (which as if integrates past life experience, the composition of needs and preferences).³

The differentiation of the migratory aims among young people (up to the age of 25) and among the representatives of other age groups, as well as within the very group of young people of Sharypovo--among people with a higher and secondary education--is of the greatest interest from the point of view of social control. The consideration of these features will be conducive to the more purposeful use of resources when implementing the social program of KATEK.

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CRITICISM IN THE PRESS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 93-97

[Article by Vladislav Mikhaylovich Kosyakov, member of the Soviet Sociological Association: "Criticism in the Press: An Attempt at a Content Analysis"]

[Text] It is difficult to overrate the role of the newspaper in the solution of practical problems and the elimination of shortcomings in many spheres of our life. Extensive publicity, effectiveness, the great prestige of the Soviet press, its objectivity and adherence to principles are the most important prerequisites of the increase of the effectiveness of publications. However, the possibilities in this area are still far from exhausted. For example, specific steps on critical statements are not always taken, the cases of the suppression of criticism are frequent. At the All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers, PRADVA Editor in Chief V. G. Afanas'yev noted: "We... receive many letters on the theme of persecution for criticism. Of course, we are not inclined to believe that all the authors are correct, but at any rate this signal is quite alarming, and we should direct the most serious attention to it" [3].

Instances when rank and file workers are the authors of critical materials are examined in the article. Their letters to the newspaper are a sensitive barometer of unsolved problems. Being directly confronted with shortcomings, the members of labor collectives provide the most valuable information, which it is impossible to obtain by means of any forms of reporting whatsoever and which serves as an indicator of serious omissions locally.

The content analysis of the letters of workers, which were published in the newspaper IZVESTIYA (the Moscow evening edition) in 1978 and 1980 under the headings "Letters to IZVESTIYA," "Notes to the Point" and "Reactions, Opinions, Suggestions," makes it possible to ascertain precisely what the editorial board selects from the stack of letters being received, what the nature of the criticism is, depending on its subject, as well as to follow the changes which have occurred since the adoption of the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 16 May 1978.¹

1. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, having noted that the editorial board "...does not always inform readers in good time on the steps taken on critical statements," emphasized: "...to use more extensively and publish the letters, critical signals and remarks of workers, which are received by the editorial board, ...to regularly inform readers on the steps being taken on critical statements of the newspaper..." [2].

Table 1

Nature of Criticism in the Newspaper IZVESTIYA (1978 and 1980)

Subject of criticism	1978			1980			Amount of critical text published in 1980 with respect to 1978
	Number of conventional lines	Criticism in which the guilty are not named (percent)	Criticism in which the guilty are named (percent)	Number of conventional lines	Criticism in which the guilty are not named (percent)	Criticism in which the guilty are named (percent)	
Mismanagement.	855	90	10	580	93	7	1.05
Red tape, formalism of workers of institutions and organizations.	325	79	21	490	60	40	0.4
Production defects	315	83	17	510	91	9	0.4
Shortcomings in management of railroads and passenger service.	305	91	9	270	90	10	0.14
Low level of organization of labor in motor transport.	305	91	9	120	89	11	0.5
Shortage and low quality of mass demand goods.	180	83	17	115	92	8	0.5
Shortcomings in organization of purchases of agricultural products from population	135	60	40	--	--	--	--
Disruption of planned deliveries	110	79	21	--	--	--	--
Low quality and poor repair of sanitary equipment.	100	81	19	--	--	--	--
Shortcomings in operation of public transport.	90	60	40	115	20	80	--
Irresponsibility of officials, abuses of official position	85	80	20	270	50	50	0.5
Inadequate attention of administration to facilitation of difficult working conditions	85	92	8	--	--	--	--
Formalism in socialist competition	60	73	27	115	89	11	1.5
Violation of environmental protection legislation.	--	--	--	--	100	--	--
Shortcomings of operation of trade network	40	100	--	--	--	--	--
Low level of personal service in village	40	93	7	270	89	11	1.0
Low quality of repair of household appliances	45	100	--	--	--	--	--
Shortcomings in operation of health institutions	--	--	--	--	80	20	--
Additions, window dressing	--	--	--	115	--	100	--
Other themes	1505	74	26	490	82	18	--
Total lines.	4580			3460			

The theme of mismanagement holds first place in the amount of newspaper space in both 1978 and 1980 (see Table 1). The struggle against red tape, the indifference of officials and bureaucracy is also at the center of attention. In other words, the critical material of IZVESTIYA reflects public opinion and reacts sensitively to urgent social problems. At the same time a decrease of the absolute number of published critical letters of workers is noted. In 1978 92 such letters were published, in 1980--58. The volume of such materials also decreased. According to the calculations of the author, in 1978 it came to 4,580 conventional printed lines, in 1980--3,460.

It is necessary to indicate that in the critical publications, of which readers of the newspaper are the authors, the guilty officials are usually not mentioned. Perhaps for this reason their reaction to criticism is quite rare. The latter is especially characteristic of the materials which discuss mismanagement. Meanwhile, "mismanagement always has a specific guilty party... and it is necessary to call to account for it in accordance with all the rigors of the law, without respect of persons" [47].

Let us cite an example which is typical of the above-mentioned headings of IZVESTIYA. "...When I turned to a shoe workshop in Penza and asked to have my rubber boots glued, the woman receiving clerk flatly refused: 'We do not accept them, we do not repair them.' I asked what do you do with them now? And she responded to me: 'Whatever you want to'" (Ya. Makarov, village of Krivozer'ye, Penzenskaya Oblast) [57]. The subject of the criticism is the indifference and rudeness of the woman receiving clerk, and more broadly the shortcomings in the organization of the operation of personal service of the city. However, the causes of this situation are not analyzed, the criticism is more of an emotional than a constructive nature. And here is the result: a report on the steps taken did not follow.

Let us cite the data of the content analysis of this aspect of the activity of the sectorial newspaper GUDOK and the oblast newspaper SEVERNAYA PRAVDA (Kostroma). In January 1978 25 critical statements of workers were published in GUDOK, in the same month in 1980--35. In SEVERNAYA PRAVDA, accordingly, 6 and 19 were published. The nature of the indicated publications in essence differs little from those printed in IZVESTIYA, although, of course, the criticism in GUDOK reflects the specific nature of the sector (see Table 2). The materials in SEVERNAYA PRAVDA concern primarily local problems, which is quite natural. It is a matter of the shortcomings in the operation of public transport, the poor maintenance of roads, the low quality of housing construction in the city and so forth. In January 1981 questions of the work of the housing and municipal services of the city held the leading place with respect to volume (Table 3). And this is not by chance: more than 40 percent of the total number of complaints received by the oblast People's Control Committee are connected with shortcomings in the activity of these services [67].

Let us examine the nature of the reaction of officials to criticism. The main thing here is the effectiveness and specificity of the steps taken. As to effectiveness, the analysis of the materials in IZVESTIYA for 1980 is not very reassuring. In all 11 responses to 58 letters, which were printed under the headings in question, were published here, including none a month after the date of publication, 8 in the course of 3 months, and then another 3 (one of them was published 9 months later) [77].

Table 2

Nature of the Critical Statements of the Newspaper GUDOK for January 1978
and January 1981 (Number of Lines)

Subject of criticism	1978		1980	
	Criticism in which the guilty are not named	Criticism in which the guilty are named	Criticism in which the guilty are not named	Criticism in which the guilty are named
Low quality of organization of labor in rail transport; poor preparation of cars (tank cars) for loading; backward technology of repair of equipment; poor spur tracks to the station.	500	90	975	350
Theft of freight on railroads, mismanagement.	--	240	95	100
Lack of attention to the needs of workers on the part of trade union organizations and administration; shortcomings in cultural and personal service.	70	75	235	320
Rudeness of conductors, schedule violations	115	200	--	--
Red tape, formalism, indifference of officials.	--	--	75	55
Window dressing, additions.	--	--	140	--
Other themes.	142	35	85	135
Total lines	827	640	1605	960

The specificity of the responses was analyzed by us on the basis of the materials of PRAVDA. Three types of responses were distinguished: A--a general response, which is binding in no way and is interspersed with the expressions "the institute continues to take steps" /8/, "exhaustive steps were taken" /9/, "the question will be examined" /10/ and so forth; B--a report that the criticized person was given a reprimand or a severe reprimand; C--a detailed response on the essence of the questions raised by the newspaper with an account of the taken steps which made it possible to eliminate the shortcomings, to correct the situation and to punish the guilty parties.

The following response can serve as an example of the first type: "Practical steps, which are aimed at the stabilization of the activity of the plan, the strengthening of the management of the enterprise, the improvement of the quality of repairs, the realization of the assets for spare parts and equipment, the strengthening of the repair service, are being taken by the oblast committee, the Makeyevka City Party Committee jointly with the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy" /11/. In our opinion, such responses to criticism are intolerable.

Table 3

Nature of the Critical Statements of the Oblast Newspaper SEVERNAYA PRAVDA
(Kostroma) for January 1978 and January 1981 (Number of Lines)

Subject of criticism	1978		1980	
	Criticism in which the officials are not named	Criticism in which the officials are named	Criticism in which the officials are not named	Criticism in which the officials are named
Shortcomings in operation of public transport, poor roads. . .	--	200	35	--
Shortcomings in operation of housing and municipal services. .	--	60	305	28
Violations of timetable of passenger trains.	--	65	--	--
Red tape, formalism, callousness of officials.	20	45	45	120
Shortcomings of personal service in the village.	50	--	--	--
Poor quality of newly built housing.	--	--	102	--
Poor organization of receipt of glass containers	--	--	--	70
Other themes	--	--	51	--
Total lines.	70	370	538	218

The punishment of officials (the second type of responses) also does not always solve the problem, for often everything is limited to this, while the situation remains as before. Thus, a month after the report that at the Sebyakovskiy Cement Plant due to a shortage of railroad cars it was necessary to halt the operation of several ovens /12/, PRAVDA published a response in which the Ministry of Railways reported on the steps which were taken. The chief of the traffic division of the Volgograd Department of the railroad was given a severe reprimand, while the chief of the traffic service was given a reprimand /13/. It would seem that positive changes should at last take place, but since the effective monitoring of the implementation of the decision was not provided for, before long, as a correspondent of the newspaper reported in the reply "The Reprimands Did Not Have an Effect," for the same reason the production of cement at the plant was again halted /14/.

It is possible to assign the following to the responses of the third group: "...The Bureau of the Krasnoglinskiy Rayon Committee of the CPSU of the city of Kuybyshev expelled A. Lebedev from the ranks of the party. The organs of the prosecutor's office have instituted criminal proceedings against him for the forgery of documents.... The oblast health department has stripped him of the highest medical skills category..." /15/: "The collectors of food scraps have been supplied with packaging. An additional 10 trucks have been allocated to the Sosnovskiy Fattening Sovkhoz" /16/. Although these articles do not verify the complete correction of the shortcomings, they convincingly attest that the problems raised by the newspaper are being worked on.

The results of the study of the reaction of officials to criticism in PRAVDA (Table 4) show: instead of a practical analysis of the questions being discussed, the editorial office frequently receives responses without an indication of the dates of the elimination of the shortcomings and the persons responsible for the fulfillment. The official letters at times consist of indefinite promises and general phrases, which, as V. I. Lenin noted, breed bureaucracy and encourage it [17]. Such an attitude toward the statements of the newspaper leads to a decrease of the public prestige of the press. The fact that the number of responses of group C, which were published by PRAVDA in 1980, decreased significantly as compared with 1978 (see Table 4), arouses particular alarm.

Table 4

Nature of the Responses of Officials to Criticism of the Newspaper PRAVDA, Percent

Genre of publication which contained the criticism	Types of responses					
	A		B		C	
	1978	1980	1978	1980	1978	1980
Article.	68	70	13	25	19	5
Report	42	48	24	34	34	18
Note, response	35	42	30	58	35	--
Feuilleton, note of the "satirical pen".	16	21	41	54	43	25
Letter	34	53	29	33	37	14

What genre is the most successful on the level of the influence of criticism? As the data show, in PRAVDA the feuilleton is in first place, although a decrease of the proportion of practical responses as compared with 1978 has also occurred here.

Critical materials are an important component of the content of newspaper pages. And it is quite clear that this aspect of the activity of an organ of the press should be constantly under the control of the editorial board, as well as the corresponding party committee. Laissez-faire is intolerable here. One of the means of such control has been shown by us in the article. The method of content analysis is quite accessible to the staff members of the editorial office of any newspaper and its supernumerary active members. From the article and the tabular material it is evident that the sociological information obtained as a result of the content analysis makes it possible to work out a thoroughly considered strategy of critical statements and to lend them the nature of a well-planned action.

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BUSINESS RELATIONS AT A PRODUCTION ASSOCIATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 98-100

/Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Stanislav L'vovich Katayev, instructor of the Zaporozh'ye Industrial Institute: "Business Relations at a Production Association"/

/Text/ The production association is usually created by the merging of previously independent enterprises under the direction of one of them--the largest. In this case the branch enterprises, as a rule, have very limited legal and financial independence, which has a substantial influence on organizational ties and affects the sociopsychological climate. At the same time the managerial staff of the main enterprise, having taken other plants under subordination and, hence, having acquired additional concerns, also reacts specifically to its inclusion in the association. Therefore, the process of the merging of enterprises into a single complex, in addition to economic consequences, has sociopsychological consequences.

In 1972, and then again in 1978 the staff members of the Zaporozh'ye Industrial Institute under the supervision of the author conducted a study of the interrelations between the staffs of the management of the main subdivisions of the Zaporozh-transformator Production Association.¹

The majority (83 percent) of the respondents agree that the association in principle is an effective form of the organization of large-scale production. But differences exist among the workers of the main plant and the branches on specific management questions.

1. The enterprises of the association--the main plant (M.p.) and the branches (B₁ and B₂)--are located in the same city. They have close relations through production cooperation and specialization. The structure of management is linear-functional. The general director of the main plant and his deputies are at the same time the managers of the association. The branches are also headed by directors. At the same time the branches are not independent organizations legally and financially.

In both studies about 100 people were surveyed: the managers of the functional and line services, the chiefs of shops, the deputy general directors, the directors of the plants and their deputies. The average age of the respondents (in the latter study) is 47, the length of service at the plant is 13 years and in the given position--4 years. The main method of the studies is the formalized interview.

The administration of the association is striving to solve fairly the problems of each plant. Its representatives believe that this is known to the entire collective (in the opinion of the managers of the association, 90 percent of the workers approve of the decisions concerning the individual enterprises). However, in fact only a third of the managers of the branches agree that the steps taken by the administration of the association are in full accord with the interests of the branches. In all, 78 percent of the managers of the divisions of the main plant emphasize that the material and technical resources are distributed among all the plants fairly, and frequently even to the detriment of the main enterprise. In the branches, however, only 20 (B₁) and 36 percent (B₂) of the managers of the divisions are of such an opinion. The workers of the association distribute the resources on the basis of their available amount, while in the branches they judge the fairness of distribution on the basis of their own needs. The conclusion is obvious: in order for there to be no differences of opinion, it is necessary to inform the managerial personnel of the branches more thoroughly.

In short, the question of mutual understanding among the managers of the subdivisions of the association is most urgent. In our study 27 percent of the respondents directly indicated this. In B₁ 50 percent of the managers of divisions and in B₂ 36 percent believe that the divisions of the association solve first of all the problems of the main plant, and then of the branches. At the same time the majority of the managers of the divisions of the association (73 percent) claim that they apportion their attention and time in conformity with the needs of all the plants and do not give preference to the main enterprise.

Due to the conflict of the interests of the different subdivisions the efficiency of work decreases. This is revealed especially noticeably during the period of the formation of the association and finds expression in frequent reorganizations, the increase of the turnover of personnel and so on. And subsequently, when the organizational ties have been established, the interrelations between the plants continue to have a great influence on the activity of the association.

In 8 years the attitude toward the new form of the organization of work improved considerably (see the table). The level of satisfaction with "inclusion" in the association at the main plant increased approximately threefold, in the branches--twofold, but the overall indicator nevertheless remains low. There are also positive changes with respect to other aspects of the interrelations. However, there are those problems which so far it has not been possible to solve. At both the main plant and the branches there is the tendency to regard one's own interests separately from the interests of the association, which is hard to overcome. This is manifested in the subjective psychological stereotypes which form among production managers.

Having used the method of semantic differentiation $\overline{[2]}$, we attempted to identify the psychological attitude toward the association of the managerial workers of the different plants. The obtained data make it possible to draw the following conclusions: 1) the workers of the main plant identify themselves most strongly with the association; the intensity of identification in the branches is approximately half as great; 2) the identification of the branches with the main plant is greater than the identification of the main plant with the branches; 3) the perception of the isolation of the main plant from each of the branches is proportionate to the perception of the isolation of the branch from the main plant; in other words,

the greater the extent to which the branch senses the main plant to be its "own," the stronger the response is; 4) for both branches the main plant and the association are identified to an equal degree; 5) the isolation of the branch is sensed at the main plant considerably less than the distance between the branches in the imagination of the managers of the branches themselves.

Attitude of Respondents to the Association, Percent

Parameters of evaluation	Managerial personnel			
	main plant		branches	
	1972	1978	1972	1978
The association benefited our plant.	20	56	20	38
Order at the main plant is better than at the branches .	80	77	20	19
The system of the allocation of rights and duties in the association is clear	40	67	26	50
The elimination of a number of reporting indicators decreased the responsibility of managers of the plants . .	40	29	13	20
The administration effectively solves current problems of the operation of the association.	67	71	46	28
The divisions of the association infringe upon the interests of the branches.	7	8	60	43
The existing difficulties are temporary.	67	30	34	58
The association will last for a long time.	60	83	7	60

The above-noted differences in opinions stem from a number of factors of an economic, organizational and legal order. In the association the business relations between the middle-level managers are of a specific nature, which consists first of all in the existence of an additional managerial level--the administration of the main enterprise. This entails changes in the organization of management at the branches and the main plant and, consequently, in the nature of responsibility. The essence of the changes reduces to the following: management decisions are centralized and the nature of the inverse relations changes; in the management activity of the branches the proportion of administrative levers increases and the proportion of economic levers decreases; the administration of the branches does not now bear responsibility for the progress of the work of the enterprise, the importance of the decisions sent out "from above" increases in its activity. From a sociopsychological point of view this heightens the sense of dissatisfaction with one's own potentials.

At the 26th CPSU Congress L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that in recent times different versions, different schemes have been tested in the system of management at the level of associations and enterprises. "Much diverse experience has been gained. And precisely this experience testifies that the search must be continued. Its general direction, so it seems, is the increase of the independence of associations and enterprises, the rights and responsibility of economic managers" [1].

The data of our study attest that one must not completely deprive the branches of the association of independence. It is expedient to implement a number of measures for the purpose of increasing the efficiency of management. The plants belonging to the association should function as separate cost accounting units; the

responsibility of the branches for the fulfillment of the plan assignments should be increased. It is necessary to constantly inform the staff members of the branches about the state of affairs in the association; in particular, regular statements of the managers of the association before the managerial personnel of the branches are useful. The process of combining the accounting, control, reporting and so forth of the main plant and the branches should take place gradually with the careful instruction of the personnel of the branches. All this will be conducive to an increase of the flexibility of management in the association and to the complete consideration of the interests of the enterprises included in it.

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USE OF PERSONNEL WITH A HIGHER AND SECONDARY SPECIALIZED EDUCATION AT WORKPLACES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 100-104

/Article by Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich Bezrodnyy, student of the Academy of the National Economy attached to the USSR Council of Ministers: "On the Use of Personnel With a Higher and Secondary Specialized Education at Workplaces"/

/Text/ The growth of the stratum of worker-intellectuals and the social importance of this process are an essential factor of the development of the working class of the USSR under the conditions of mature socialism [1]. Under present conditions scientific and technical progress requires more and more urgently the decrease of unskilled manual labor and the increase of the proportion of mechanized and automated labor in social production as a whole, and first of all in industry. The operation of complex machines and units, as well as the increasing use of robots presume a high level of not only the general educational, but also the special training of workers. New work occupations, of which not physical efforts, but intellectual functions are becoming the basic content, are appearing continuously.

Specialists with the diploma of secondary specialized and higher educational institutions now make up a significant portion of the working class of the USSR. According to the data of the last two all-union censuses, among those employed in primarily physical labor the proportion of people, who have a higher, an incomplete higher and a secondary specialized education, increased from 31 people per 1,000 in 1970 to 77 people in 1979, that is, 2.5-fold. In the leading sectors of industry, including machine building and metalworking, this indicator is substantially higher: in 1970 it was 57 people per 1,000, while in 1979 it was 126 [2]. However, it would be incorrect to regard all specialists, who are employed at workplaces, as worker-intellectuals, since often they are used for the wrong purpose [3]. This leads some authors to a negative appraisal of this phenomenon (see, for example, [4]).

For the purpose of identifying the features of the process in question the author of this article in 1980-1981 conducted studies in the machine building industry of the city of Novosibirsk. Two machine building enterprises--the Luch Production Association and the Novosibirsk Precision Machine Building Plant--were chosen as the subjects of the study; moreover, studies were conducted at the Novosibirsk Tool Plant. With respect to the nature of production, the list of occupations being used and the skills structure of the workers these enterprises are typical for the machine building industry. The data of the personnel divisions on all the

specialists with a secondary specialized and higher education, who work at workplaces, were analyzed (with the use of expert appraisals). Moreover, a sample survey of the workers of the indicated enterprises, as well as of the Sibsels'mash Scientific Production Association, the Elektrosignal Plant and the chemical plant, was conducted. In all 1,150 workers were surveyed. Among them there were 225 people with a higher, incomplete higher and secondary specialized education.

When evaluating the use of specialists at workplaces the author based himself first of all on "The List of Work Occupations Requiring a Secondary Specialized Education," which is now in effect and was approved by the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems in 1977. The wage categories are indicated in it and it contains a list of up to 380 occupations which are specified by "The Uniform Job and Wage Rates Classification Manual." Moreover, 11 occupations, which require a secondary specialized education and receive a monthly salary, including the occupation of brigade leader in the sections of basic production, instructor of on-the-job training of workers of the mass occupations and so forth, are listed in it. The correctness of the use of people with a higher education was determined on the basis of the expert appraisals of the leading specialists of the enterprises.

Table 1

Use of Specialists With a Secondary Specialized Education at Workplaces, Percent

Group number	Characterization of group*	Luch Product- tion Asso- ciation	Precision machine building plant
1	Specialty by education corresponds to job being performed, occupation and category of job correspond to the "List" of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems. . .	10.3	14.3
2	The same, only the assigned category is lower than stipulated by the "List"	29.2	50.1
3	Specialty by education corresponds to the specialization of the enterprise, but the worker is not used in accordance with his specialty	17.7	6.3
4	Specialty by education corresponds to job being performed, but this occupation is not on the "List".	17.3	15.0
5	Specialty by education has no relationship to the specialization of the enterprise**	25.5	14.3

* The characterizations of the groups were formulated on the basis of the category of the workers and the nature of the jobs performed by them with allowance made for the obtained specialty by education.

** What is meant is specialties, which are not used directly at machine building enterprises, for example, teachers of the elementary grades, geologists, medical workers and so on.

The data on the use of specialists with a secondary specialized education at workplaces are presented in Table 1. By analyzing the figures cited it it, it is possible to draw the conclusion that only a negligible portion of the specialists (10-14 percent) with a secondary specialized education are being used at workplaces in complete conformity with the "List" of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems. Of course, here it must be borne in mind that a portion of the specialists, who at the time of the survey were assigned to group 2, after acquiring the appropriate labor experience and skills will gradually move to group 1.

The significant size of groups 3 and 4 (they unite 20-35 percent of the total number of specialists with a secondary specialized education, who are employed at workplaces) attests to the unsatisfactory work of the administration of the enterprises on the efficient use of specialists, especially under the conditions when a still large detachment of manager-experienced workers is being retained at the enterprises. For example, in 1980 at the Novosibirsk Precision Machine Building Plant among the chiefs of sections, senior foremen and foremen 37.6 percent were experienced workers, while at the Luch Production Association 30 percent were.

As to group 5, its educational structure is extremely diverse: livestock experts, engineer-navigators, instructors of the elementary grades, nurses and so on.

A similar picture was found at the Novosibirsk Tool Plant. Here among the 103 specialists with a secondary specialized education, who work at workplaces, 24 people have specialties by education, which have no relationship with the specialization of the plant; among them are geologists, livestock experts, water management workers, planning engineers, instructors of physical culture and so forth. Many workplaces are occupied by engineers, which is not envisaged by the "List." At the same time at the plant of the 123 foremen 32 are experienced workers, that is, 25 percent, of the 34 senior foremen 6 are experienced workers and so on.

Now let us examine the use at workplaces of graduate specialists with a higher education and especially those instances when the specialty obtained at a higher educational institution is not connected with the job being performed. At the Novosibirsk Tool Plant as of 15 August 1981 of the 10 graduate specialists with a higher education at workplaces only 2 hold positions which correspond to the character of the specialty obtained at the higher educational institution, while at the Luch Association of the 24 such specialists only 11 do. As the analysis showed, even in the case of the conformity of the specialty and occupation, specialists with a secondary specialized education should have been used at these workplaces.

Thus, society is incurring considerable losses, which are connected with the expenditures on the training of the specialist at a higher or secondary specialized educational institution, while a certain number of the able-bodied population are being diverted from the sphere of social production during the period of training.

Not only society, but these people themselves incur losses. A comparison of the indicated group of people with the main contingent of workers, who have a secondary general or less than a secondary education, according to their satisfaction with labor, material status, the accomplishment of their plans in life and the aspiration to improve their skills, is cited in Tables 2-4.

Table 2

Degree of Satisfaction With the Job Being Performed
Subject to the Level of Education, Percent

Responses to the question "How satisfied are you with the job which you are presently performing?"	Education	
	secondary general and less than secondary	higher, incomplete higher and secondary specialized
Completely satisfied, basically satisfied. .	50.0	46.6
Partially satisfied, partially not	35.2	35.4
Basically unsatisfied, completely unsatisfied	6.3	9.0
Had not thought about it	8.5	9.0

Table 3

Satisfaction With Material Status and Accomplishment of Plans in Life
Subject to the Level of Education, Percent*

Response to the question "Are you satisfied with your material status and the accomplishment of plans in life?"	Education	
	secondary general and less than secondary	higher, incomplete higher and secondary specialized
Satisfied with material status.	52.3	43.6
Satisfied with the accomplishment of one's plans in life	43.8	40.1

* The remainder of the respondents responded negatively to the posed questions.

Table 4

Appraisal of the Need for the Improvement of Skills
Subject to the Level of Education, Percent

Response to the question "Do you feel the need for the improvement of skills?"	Education	
	secondary general and less than secondary	higher, incomplete higher and secondary specialized
Do not feel.	45.9	43.2
Consider it necessary.	38.0	44.6
Had not thought about it	16.1	12.2

The education received by workers has a substantial effect on the evaluation of the satisfaction with the job being performed. In the group of people with a secondary specialized and higher (or incomplete higher) education there are nearly 1.5-fold more respondents who believe that they are "completely" or "basically" unsatisfied with their job (see Table 2).

Among workers with a secondary general (or lower) education the percentage of those satisfied with their material status and the accomplishment of their plans in life is higher as compared with the group of respondents with a higher educational level (see Table 3).

The need for the improvement of skills among respondents having a higher, incomplete higher and secondary specialized education is greater than among respondents with a secondary general (or lower) education. Accordingly the percentage of those surveyed who do not feel the need for the improvement of skills is lower in this group. In this group there are fewer respondents who responded that they had not thought about the question of improving their skills (see Table 4).

Obviously, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems should periodically improve and revise "The List of Work Occupations," which require a secondary specialized education, with allowance made for the changes in the nature of labor, which are constantly occurring under the influence of scientific and technical progress. In turn, it is necessary not only to introduce in the statistical reporting of the USSR Central Statistical Administration information on the number of specialists with a secondary specialized and higher education, who work at workplaces, but also to single out among them the occupation in accordance with the indicated "List," as well as the workers, whose specialty by education corresponds to other sectors of the national economy. The ministries and departments in the evaluation of the activity of the organizations subordinate to them need to take into account without fail, how effectively and rationally the graduate specialists at workplaces are being used. The adoption of the enumerated set of measures will make it possible to effectively solve the problem of the efficient use of the manpower resources of the country.

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SEX-AGE STRUCTURE OF COLLECTIVE OF KAMA MOTOR VEHICLE PLANT

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 104-107

/Article by Ravil' Akhatovich Latypov, member of the Soviet Sociological Association: "The Dynamics of the Sex-Age Structure of the Collective of the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant"/

/Text/ The sex-age structure is an important characteristic of the labor collective and the population of the region of new development as a whole. A disproportion leads here to the turnover of personnel, makes adaptation difficult and worsens the attitude toward work. In the article the goal is set to trace the change of the sex-age structure of the labor collective of the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant during the period from 1974 to 1980.

The city of Naberezhnyye Chelny is a typical region of new development, the population of which is formed primarily by means of migration. Among the residents the proportion of the representatives of young age groups is high, and this is characteristic to a greater extent for women (see Table 1). People under the age of 30 make up 53.1 percent of the able-bodied population (women--58 percent, men--42 percent). The group of people 25 to 29 years old is the largest--one-fourth of all those employed in social production.

Table 1

Sex-Age Structure of the Able-Bodied Population of Naberezhnyye Chelny,* Percent

Sex	Age groups, years								
	16-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59
Men.	7.6	15.5	24.4	17.3	13.4	11.4	5.9	3.5	1.0
Women.	11.7	20.8	25.5	14.8	10.7	8.6	4.5	3.4	--

* "Itogi perepisi naseleniya 1979 g. T. 1. Chislennost' i polovozrastnoy sostav naseleniya TASSR" /Results of the 1979 Census. Volume 1. The Size and Sex-Age Composition of the Population of the Tatarskaya ASSR/, Kazan', Statupravleniye TASSR, 1980.

The specific nature of the age structure of the population of the city is displayed especially clearly when comparing it with the age structure of the inhabitants of the regions as a whole. Thus, the groups of 25-29 and 30-34 years

old are considerably more representative (by 15 percent) in Naberezhnyye Chelny than on the average in the cities of the autonomous republic. The proportion of women 16-24 years old in Naberezhnyye Chelny is 9.4 percent greater than that of men, while for the entire urban population of the republic this excess is only 1.2 percent. On the basis of the results of many studies it is possible to assume that the desire to establish a family is a stimulus for the migration of young women and accordingly an important factor of the formation of the demographic structure of the region of new development.

People over the age of 39 make up a small portion of the residents of Naberezhnyye Chelny--13 percent less than on the average in the cities of Tataria. The reason for this, as S. N. Zhelezko correctly notes [1], is the lack of development of the infrastructure of the young city, as well as the low migratory activeness of the representatives of the intermediate and older age groups.

The changes in the sex-age structure of the labor collective occur depending on the stage of development of the new industrial enterprise. Thus, during the period of construction of the production buildings, the installation and the start-up and adjustment work the number of men at the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant considerably exceeded the number of women: in 1974 there were 196 men per 100 women, in 1975--156, in 1976--128.¹ As equipment was put into operation and the production of motor vehicles and housing and municipal services increased, the sphere of use of the labor of women expanded, while the increase of available housing created the conditions for the establishment and consolidation of families. By 1980 the number of men per 100 women had stabilized, having come to 87, which corresponds to the structure of the personnel of industry of the Tatarskaya ASSR [2]. It is possible to conclude that the sex structure of the collective of the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant developed in the direction of equalization with the average sectorial indicators in this region.

Substantial changes in the ratio of the sexes also occurred during the period in question in the social groups of the collective of the motor vehicle plant (see Table 2). The contingent of employees was formed for the most part due to women. Among the workers of housing and municipal services, construction, transportation, public dining and children's preschool institutions the proportion of men was constantly low (74-77 men per 100 women). In the group of engineering and technical personnel, in which at first men predominated, by 1980 their number per 100 women had decreased to five-ninths: at first the engineering and technical personnel of the casting shop and the managerial staff of the association were formed (women are negligibly represented here), while the technological design and economic services and so forth, in which women make up 50-90 percent, were manned later.

The composition of the workers, the proportion of whom in 1975-1980 came to 52-54 percent of all those working at the association, is of decisive importance for the formation of the sex structure of the collective of the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant. The analysis of the provision of personnel with respect to the most widespread work specialties confirms that the main factor here is the enlargement of the sphere of use of the labor of women.

1. The data were calculated according to the materials of the reports of the KamAZ Association on the provision and placement of personnel.

Table 2

Number of Men per 100 Women Individually by Social Groups of the Collective of the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant (At the Beginning of the Year)

Year	Engineering and technical personnel	Employees	Workers
1974.	222	7	216
1976.	171	6	154
1978.	136	4	112
1980.	123	3	93
1981.	124	5	91

During the study we examined how the sex structure of the workers was also formed at the individual plants of the motor vehicle association. The most stable ratio of men and women during this period was at the tool repair plant, which was put into operation in 1973--4 years earlier than the other plants. At present the process of the formation of the sex structure of the regular labor force in conformity with the optimum structure of the workplaces has concluded at the motor plant (93 men per 100 women), the foundry (123 per 100), the forge plant (148 per 100) and the chassis pressing plant (88 per 100), while at the remaining enterprises it is still continuing. Taking into account the great specialization of the plants of the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant, on the basis of its experience it is possible to assume that at the modern machine building enterprise the level of the use of the labor of women by work specialties is roughly: in founding--45 percent, in forging--40 percent, in pressing--53 percent, in assembly--55 percent, in tool production--40 percent.

Of course, the indicators of the use of the labor of women (especially in founding and press forging) are too high to completely meet the long-range demands, but the structure of the workplaces at the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant and the development of the infrastructure of the city ensured the optimum ratio of the sexes among the residents of Naberezhnyye Chelny without any additional measures. At present among the women working here 77.7 percent are workers, 13.0 percent are engineering and technical personnel and 9.3 percent are employees. As our study showed, another reason for the intensive equalization of the sex structure of the collective of the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant consists in the fact that among those leaving Naberezhnyye Chelny the proportion of men is higher, while the proportion of women is substantially lower than among the working people (see Table 3).

Thus, the sex structure of the labor collective of the enterprise in the region of new development forms under the influence of a number of factors, of which the main one is the availability of workplaces at which the labor of women can be used. During the formation of the contingent of workers the ratio of the sexes changes substantially in the direction of equalization with the sectorial indicators in the given region. The increase in the collective of the proportion of women, and both indirectly, by the optimization of the sex structure, and directly, owing to the fact that women are less inclined to change their place of residence and work, has a stabilizing influence on the collective.

Table 3

Dynamics of the Intensity of the Discharge of Men and Women
From the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant*

Year	Men	Women
1976.	1.06	0.92
1977.	1.17	0.82
1978.	1.15	0.86
1979.	1.18	0.84
1980.	1.29	0.75

* The coefficient of the rate of departure from the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant was calculated as the ratio of the proportion of men and women discharged during the year to the proportion of those working on 1 August of the same year (half of the annual increase of the number of workers of the motor vehicle association during the period from 1975 to 1979 falls on this date) $\frac{1}{3}$.

The experience of the formation of the sex-age structure of the collective of the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant can be used when forecasting similar processes in new labor collectives.

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STUDENT BODY OF VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 107-109

/Article by Honored School Teacher of the RSFSR Mikhail L'vovich Vaynshteyn, director of City Vocational and Technical School No 24 of Sverdlovsk: "The Formation of the Contingent of Students of Vocational and Technical Schools"/

/Text/ The vocational and technical school is one of the basic forms of the familiarization of young people with productive labor. During the years of the 10th Five-Year Plan 12.5 million people, that is, two-thirds of the workers who entered production, acquired a specialty in the system of vocational and technical schools.¹

The prestige of vocational and technical educational institutions is increasing from year to year. However, the admission of students to vocational and technical schools of some specializations in many regions of the country for the present is being carried out unsatisfactorily. Construction vocational and technical schools are being provided with students with the greatest difficulty. For example, in 1982 of the 32 construction schools of Sverdlovskaya Oblast only 10 coped with the plan of the admission of students.

Not only the instructors of vocational and technical schools and the base enterprises are to blame for this. Under the conditions of a wide choice of occupations that sector of the national economy, which provides meaningful, highly skilled labor, is attracting young people. The prestige of the occupation and the educational institution, at which the knowledge is acquired, as well as of the organization, at which practical skills are strengthened, also has an effect. The technical equipment and level of industrialization of the sector also play a substantial role. Not without reason do young people select most readily the specialties connected with the service of machines (excavator and tower crane operator, installer of structural components, gas and electric welder). At the same time nearly everywhere there are not enough workers of the general construction occupations (plasterer-painter, carpenter-woodworker, mason and others). Some construction mechanic occupations (mechanic-sanitary engineer, mechanic for the repair of industrial ventilation and so on) have also lost their former popularity.

1. "Materialy XXVI s'yezda KPSS" /Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress/, Moscow, Politizdat, 1981, p 52.

An alarming trend has been noted: the number of trained workers of the named occupations is decreasing considerably more rapidly than the need for them.

Vocational guidance work should play an important role in the solution of the problem of making up the contingent of students of vocational and technical schools of the construction type. Since 1969 the sources of information, owing to which adolescents made the choice of precisely this educational institution, have been studied at Secondary City Vocational and Technical School No 24 imeni 50-letiya VLKSM of Sverdlovsk. At the same time we attempted to establish the dependence between the forms of vocational guidance work, the sources of information and the quality of the making up of the contingent of students of the vocational and technical school. In recent years the proportion of children of employees has been increasing steadily, while that of the descendants of the peasantry has been decreasing (see Table 1), which has substantially influenced the problem of the provision of students both in the socioeconomic and in the sociopsychological and socio-educational respects.

Table 1

Breakdown of Students Subject to the Social Status of Their Parents, Percent

Students admitted	1969	1973	1974	1975	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Children of workers.	58.0	66.0	60.0	63.0	63.5	63.5	62.0	57.0	56.0
Children of kolkhoz farmers.	30.0	15.0	13.0	9.0	6.5	4.5	8.0	11.0	11.0
Children of employees.	12.0	19.0	27.0	28.0	30.0	32.0	30.0	32.0	33.0

How was the control of this process carried out in practice? First of all the task was set to determine when, at what stage of admission certain sources or others of information, which influence the choice of occupations, has the most favorable effect. Two groups were distinguished: the mass media and the means of vocational guidance and agitation. Newspapers, journals, posters, advertisements and so on (designated by us by the letter A) and radio, television and film advertisements (B) are included in the first group. The second group consists of information obtained from adult workers of institutions and schools, parents and teachers, who direct young people for studies to the vocational and technical school (C), and information from people of the same age (D).

The effectiveness of the sources of information "in pure form," that is, under the conditions of the use of traditional established forms of vocational guidance work, without their manipulation during the provision with students, was studied at first. The results of the study are presented in Table 2.

As the data show, the influence of the different sources of information during the 3 months of the acceptance of applications is different. In June the means of vocational guidance and agitation (groups C and D) are the most effective sources which orient students toward enrollment in the institution, while the influence of the mass media (groups A and B) is poorly expressed. In July the importance of the latter two groups increases slightly, while in August both types of sources (active and passive) play an identical role. Agitation on the part of people of the same age is the most stable form of vocational guidance (June--41 percent,

July--34 percent, August--32 percent). Toward the beginning of the school year the influence of the mass media, especially group A, increases (June--14 percent, July--29 percent, August--42 percent).

Table 2

Submission of Applications to the School Depending on the Different Sources of Information and the Month of Acceptance, Percent

Source of information	Month of submission of application		
	June	July	August
Group A.	14	29	42
Group B.	3	9	8
Group C.	42	28	18
Group D.	41	34	32
Total.	100	100	100

According to many years of observations, the boys and girls, who made the choice in favor of the school in June or July, complete the course of training most successfully. Among them there are more people who are confident of the correct choice of occupation. As a rule, they display greater interest in it, adapt better to the conditions of the educational process and take a more active part in public life. Among the adolescents who determined their choice only in August, especially during the second half, there are many who chose construction specialties at random, unawares. Hence the dissatisfaction with studies, and frequently the dropping out of the vocational and technical school.

If these two circumstances--the considerable increase in August of the number of those enrolling, who were guided by the mass media, and the subsequent difficulties in training for the majority of them--are combined, the conclusion that it is necessary to intensify the active forms of vocational guidance work, becomes obvious. At the same time it would be mistaken to underestimate the mass media. It is clear that, in responding to the question, which of the sources influenced the decision to enroll in the school, the adolescent most often names the one which, in his opinion, seems to him to be the only one. In reality the "key" source also collects other forms and methods, which are secondary with respect to it, and it is important for the latter to be more diverse and to take into account the peculiarities of the object of influence.

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CSO: 1806/18

OCCUPATIONAL ADAPTATION OF YOUNG SCIENTISTS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 109-112

/Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Tat'yana Zakharovna Kozlova, senior research associate of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Peculiarities of the Occupational Adaptation of Young Scientists"/

[Text] Annually more than 60 percent of all the graduates of higher educational institutions reinforce scientific research, planning and design and other institutions [2]. The process of the inclusion of recent students in labor life and of their emergence as specialists is very complex and involves a large number of factors.

We attempted to investigate these questions on the basis of the materials of the studies, which have been conducted by the Sector of the Sociology of Science of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences at scientific research institutes of various types (academic and sectorial) and design organizations since 1970. Moreover, the data of an all-union study of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee among scientists and engineering and technical personnel (1978) were used in the study.¹

First of all it should be noted that the activity of young specialists in the scientific collective to a certain extent depends on the type of higher educational institution from which they graduated. The graduates of universities, as a rule, more frequently are able to use the latest methods of research and are better acquainted with experimental equipment than the graduates of polytechnical institutes. At the same time a narrow specialization as a result of a polytechnical education enables the latter to participate sooner in the work of sectorial scientific research institutes and is conducive to a more intensive process of "entry" into large-scale science during the first 2 years. Subsequently, however, this circumstance has a positive effect only under the conditions of work at scientific research institutes of a purely applied nature. As to scientific research institutes

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1. In all 902 people were surveyed with the participation of the author. Among the respondents there are 407 women and 495 men. The breakdown by age groups is as follows: up to the age of 24--79 people, from 25 to 29--175, from 30 to 39--318, from 40 to 49--228, from 50 to 59--77 and 60 and older--30. Thus, workers under the age of 40 made up 70 percent of the total studied population.

with a research emphasis, here the broad general theoretical training received at universities plays an important role for lengthy successful work 37.

The data of the all-union survey show: both the production and the public active-ness is highest of all among young scientists at the age of 25-29 (Table 1). In other words, it is possible to consider the process of adaptation to be closest to completion precisely in this age group.

Table 1

Breakdown of the Responses to the Questions: "What Do You Think About Your Job?" and "Do You Take Part in Public Work?" Subject to Age, Percent

Versions of responses	Under 25 years old	25-29 years old
I try to devote all my efforts and knowledge.	50	65
I do everything that is required of me, not more.	50	35
I work without desire, out of necessity	0	0
I have a permanent public assignment.	47	55
I perform individual assignments.	31	31
In practice I do not engage in public work.	22	14

The activity and, consequently, the time frame of the adaptation of young specialists are closely connected with the extent to which the proposed theme corresponds to their scientific interests. Practice attests that the theme of the scientific work of a greater part of young staff members does not correspond to the specialization from the higher educational institutions. Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution occupational mobility is a natural phenomenon, here the successful mastering of new knowledge and skills by young personnel to a significant extent depends on the supervisor. The studies show what great importance the respondents attach to the professional and human qualities of the people to whom they are subordinate. Thus, to the question of our interview: "What do you consider to be the most positive thing in the work of your immediate supervisor?" the majority of responses were as follows: "knows much," "is fair," "is industrious," "is demanding," "is objective," "is democratic," "is active," "gives assistance," "gives a free hand." In the opinion of the majority of those surveyed, "deficiency in knowledge," "instability" and "the lack of initiative, objectivity" belong to the most negative qualities of a supervisor.

The role of the supervisor in the selection of a scientific theme which corresponds to the interests of the young specialists is also great. According to the data of our studies, the degree of coincidence of the theme of scientific work with personal interests ranges from 50 to 70 percent depending on the specialization of the scientific research institute. At sectorial scientific research institutes and design organizations it is lower, at academic scientific research institutes it is higher. With age this indicator gradually increases, which is quite natural, since, on the one hand, the worker with time "grows accustomed" to the problems, which for him were previously unfamiliar and not especially appealing, and, on the other, more opportunities appear (as a result of advancement along the job ladder) to adapt the theme to one's personal scientific interests.

The atmosphere in the collective, its sociopsychological climate are of great importance for overcoming the difficulties of the adaptation period. Many scientists stress this circumstance. Thus, M. G. Yaroshevskiy writes: "The creation for the young specialist of conditions, which make it possible during a certain 'adaptation' period to conduct independent research in the direction of his own ideas (which do not coincide with the plan assignment), is possible only in the collective in which, in addition to purely business relations, friendly relations dominate against the background of collective enthusiasm for the matter" [47].

During the all-union study 75 percent of the surveyed young research associates responded affirmatively to the question of the questionnaire: "Do you like the collective in which you work?" The breakdown of the responses to the question, why does the respondent like to work here, is shown in Table 2. Thus, a good friendly collective and an atmosphere of comradely mutual assistance are a necessary condition of the satisfaction of the young specialist with his job. Precisely the friendly relations in the first labor collective for young people are capable of moderating or even reducing to nought the certain "negativism," which is characteristic of many of them and is connected with the fact that, without having yet adequate knowledge about life and production, boys and girls are more often inclined to treat more critically the people surrounding them than themselves. The representatives of the administration of the scientific research institute, who on the commission for the assignment of young specialists at higher educational institutions promise them what is called "a mountain of gold," but then do not keep their promises, are often to blame for the differences between their expectations and real life. During the interview many respondents noted this circumstance.

Table 2

Breakdown of the Responses to the Question: "If You Like the Collective in Which You Work, Indicate Why," Percent

Versions of responses	Percent
A spirit of comradeship and mutual assistance prevails in the collective. . .	35
The collective makes it possible to express one's ability in labor activity.	25
The possibility of contact with interesting people.	20
The collective creates conditions for the good organization of leisure. . .	10
The collective makes it possible to increase one's ideological and political level, to participate in public political work.	10

The conditions necessary for occupational and creative growth play a significant role in solving the problem of adaptation. In the opinion of young specialists self-education and scientific work with experienced specialists, graduate studies, scientific and technical seminars and creative discussions are the most effective forms of the improvement of skills.

According to the data of our studies, the scientists at academic scientific research institutes have a greater opportunity to improve their skills than those at sectorial and design organizations. Thus, to the question of the questionnaire:

"Does the opportunity exist at your institution to improve your skills?" 80, 71.4 and 67.1 percent of the respondents gave an affirmative answer. This fact is explained, apparently, by the specific nature of the activity of scientific research institutes of the academic type, where the staff members more frequently take part in the work of methodological seminars, in discussions of dissertations and manuscripts, in conferences and colloquia and so on. At the same time it turned out that it is more difficult to get a more skilled job--in spite of the better conditions for the improvement of skills--precisely at academic scientific research institutions. Here only 43.2 percent of those who responded affirmatively to the preceding question noted realistic prospects for obtaining a more skilled job (at sectorial institutes and design organizations respectively 53.2 and 50.1 percent). The lack of opportunities for promotion shows not only in the high turnover of personnel and the search for more suitable--from this standpoint--places of work,² but also in the fact that "having become bogged down" for many years in a specific position (junior research associate or senior engineer) and not seeing prospects for growth, a person may lose interest in the matter, may begin to treat it formally, without overstepping the bounds of the prescribed duties (in science this seems especially intolerable to us), and may relax the demands on himself, in short, he may come to a standstill in his occupational development.

In instances when this is not an isolated case, but a quite prevalent phenomenon, it is a question not simply of the unsuccessful creative fate of an individual scientist, but of significant losses of the entire scientific research institution.

According to our data, among candidates of sciences up to the age of 35 only half have the rank of senior research associate. An especially sharp disparity between the level of skills and the official position, as we have already noted, is perceived at scientific research institutes of the academic type. There are no intermediate positions here, while the difference in the pay of the junior and the senior research associate is very substantial. Such a situation, in our opinion, needs to be reviewed.

When speaking about the adaptation of young specialists, one must not lose sight of the fact that its effectiveness is closely interconnected with the productivity of the young, with their efficiency. In this connection the formation among young people of a conscientious attitude toward labor is acquiring great importance. It is the duty of scientific supervisors and older colleagues not only to explain, but also to show by their own example, what an important place everyday diligent work occupies in the activity of the scientist.

At the CPSU Central Committee Plenum (November 1981) L. I. Brezhnev indicated the need for the effective use of the accumulated scientific and technical potential [17]. The solution of the problem of the adaptation of young personnel will

2. The highest percentage of turnover of personnel both according to our materials and according to the data of other studies is observed among research associates up to the age of 30. It is necessary, however, to take into account that there are forms of movement, "...which objectively are conducive to scientific and technical progress (a change of specialty and place of work in connection with a shift to a new scientific field). Such mobility should be stimulated" [57].

undoubtedly contribute in many ways to the accomplishment of this important national economic task.

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ATTACHMENT OF FIRE SERVICE PERSONNEL

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 113-116

/Article by Valeriy Viktorovich Kafidov, graduate student of the Higher Engineering Fire-Fighting Equipment School of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs: "The Attachment of Fire Service Personnel"/

/Text/ The first major social study in the fire service was conducted back in 1926 /1/, but up to now the specific nature of the labor of firemen has been poorly studied. Systematic studies in this area were begun only in the 1970's. The increase of the interest in these problems is due first of all to the increase of the role of the fire service itself under the conditions of the intensive development of the economy. As statistics show, more than 100,000 fires and conflagrations, which do considerable material damage and take about 8,000 human lives, occur annually in our country /2/. The load on fire-fighting subdivisions is increasing from year to year. Thus, in Moscow the number of calls for the fire-fighting subdivisions increased more than twofold in 10 years, and in 1979 more than 100 calls a day were received /3/. The great demands, which are made on the fire service workers, the improvement of their occupational skills and the development of the necessary moral and sociopsychological qualities, are raising with particular urgency the problems of the attraction, selection and stabilization of personnel.

Whereas at many industrial enterprises the "aging" of the composition of the personnel arouses serious anxiety, a considerable influx of young people is a characteristic trait of the present development of the fire service, as a result of which in Moscow Oblast, for example, the average length of service of the workers in the past 10 years alone has decreased from 9.8 to 6.5 years. The mobility and especially the turnover of personnel have increased significantly. In the oblast fire service more than half of the number of staff is replaced every 5 years /4, 5/.

The nature of the interrelationship between the mobility of personnel and the satisfaction of the fire service workers with the occupation and labor was studied in a special study of the potentially mobile and potentially stable groups of workers.¹ From the point of view of the sociodemographic structure and the level of skills, the greatest differences are observed in age, length of service in the fire service, family status and composition of the families (Tables 1-3).

Table 1

Differences in Age Composition of the Mobile and Stable Groups, Percent

Group	Age, years				
	20-24	25-29	30-39	40-49	50 and over
Mobile.	41.4	24.2	20.6	13.8	0.0
Stable.	21.2	24.8	24.4	15.3	14.3

Table 2

Differences of Contingents of the Mobile and Stable Groups According to Length of Service in the Fire Service, Percent

Group	Length of service, years								
	up to 1	1-3	3-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	over 30
Mobile.	23.6	29.1	18.3	20.0	3.6	3.6	1.8	0.0	0.0
Stable.	15.5	24.4	14.5	19.6	11.5	9.1	1.0	1.7	2.7

Table 3

Presence of Children Among Workers Included in the Mobile and Stable Groups, Percent

Group	No children	One child	Two children	More than two children
Mobile.	48.3	34.5	17.2	0.0
Stable.	22.0	41.9	30.4	5.7

As we see, the mobile workers are primarily young people up to the age of 25-30, who have worked in the fire service less than 5 years, are unmarried (36.2 percent) or married, but have no children. On the other hand, the potentially stable contingent consists of staff members of an older age, with a greater length of service, who are primarily married (80.9 percent) and have children.

The differences in the appraisals and opinions, the reasons of the activity and behavior of the representatives of the stable and mobile groups are also substantial. The pursuit of moral factors of the satisfaction with the occupation and labor is to a greater extent characteristic of the former (see Table 4).

Table 4

Reasons of Labor Activity of Firemen (According to the Materials of a Survey in Moscow Oblast), Percent

Reason of labor	In total	In mobile group	In stable group
Any job is good, if it pays well.	11.0	15.5	10.5
The wage is the main thing, but one must think about the meaning of the job.	14.1	22.4	11.8
One must not forget the wage, but the main thing is the meaning of the job, its social utility.	35.7	27.6	35.4
That job is good, in which you are of more benefit, in which you are needed	39.2	34.5	42.3

The analysis of the reasons for taking a job in the fire-fighting units gives grounds to assert that many workers of the stable group, when choosing an occupation, directed their attention to its social importance and heroic nature. The correctness of the choice, which is manifested in the satisfaction with labor and, as a consequence, in the stability of personnel, in many ways depends on the degree of information about labor in the fire service, as well as on the channels of the receipt of information. According to the conducted survey, more than 70 percent of the respondents when taking the job knew fairly little about their occupation, and in the group of potentially mobile workers the degree of information is considerably less than in the stable group. The number of those who chose the occupation at random is also large, especially in the mobile group, in which 42 percent are of this type as against 15 percent in the potentially stable contingent.

In characterizing the circumstances of the choice of occupation and the channels of information on it, we should note the great importance for the attraction of personnel to the fire service of the personal example of the firemen themselves, on whose advice more than 16 percent of those surveyed took the job. The studies showed: more than half of the respondents want their children to continue their line of work, while among those who chose the occupation in accordance with family tradition 90 percent are among the potentially stable respondents. The parents of the stable workers approve of the choice of their children more often than do the parents of potentially mobile workers. Quite precise and complete information of the relatives and friends of firemen about their labor is also of great importance.

Thus, the subsequent satisfaction with labor and the stability of personnel in many ways are already determined at the stage of the choice of occupation. However, the nature, content and conditions of labor are of decisive importance. Moreover, in the working conditions one should especially single out "the sociopsychological factors connected with the flow of labor activity in the collective" /6/. As it turned out, 97 percent of the workers of the fire-fighting units of Moscow Oblast are convinced that good relations in the collective help in work. More than 60 percent of those surveyed rate favorably the relations in their collectives, and among the potentially mobile workers 41 percent are of this type, among the stable workers--65 percent.

An important role in the creation of a favorable sociopsychological climate in the collective belongs to the supervisor. The study of the connection between the relations in the collective and the relations with the chief made it possible to establish a quite high degree of closeness of this connection ($r=0.71$). The level of discipline and the ability of the collective to combat its violations are an essential characteristic of the state of the sociopsychological climate in the collective. The effectiveness of the steps being taken to combat violations correlates well with the appraisals of the relations in the collective ($r=0.6$), the potential mobility ($r=0.7$) and the actual movement of personnel ($r=0.6$). When evaluating the effectiveness of the steps being taken to tighten up discipline, 45.9 percent of those surveyed consider these steps to be effective and 42 percent consider them to be inadequately effective; there is noted in this case a positive relationship with the effectiveness of the use of primarily explanatory work ($r=0.53$) and a negative relationship with the preferential use of summary punishment ($r=-0.85$).

The results of the conducted studies reveal a close connection of the appraisals of the effectiveness of the steps being taken in the collectives to combat violations of discipline with the activeness of the members of the collectives, the discussion of all the events taking place in the collective ($r=0.8$) and the activity of public organizations ($r=0.8$).

The factors of the satisfaction with labor, which were identified in the process of comparing the potentially mobile and stable groups, were used for the subsequent comparison of the fire-fighting subdivisions, which have approximately the same conditions of operation, but great differences in the indicators of the real and potential mobility. The employment of correlation regression analysis and the use of standardized evaluations of the intensity of the manifestations of the factors showed that an effective combination of the age contingents of workers is characteristic of the subdivisions with the greatest stability of personnel. Even more substantial differences between the subdivisions with the greatest and least mobility were identified in the organization of labor, the style and methods of management. The collectives, in which the relations of subordinates with the management, as well as information about the events taking place in the unit are unsatisfactory, socialist competition is organized formally, the conditions for the improvement of skills do not exist, public organizations do not involve the members of the collective actively enough in public work and contact with the families of the workers are poorly maintained, are notable for great mobility.

In solving the problem of the attachment of personnel, on the one hand one should proceed in the direction of the increase of the prestige, popularity and appeal of the occupation of firemen, the change of the nature, content and conditions of their labor and, on the other, it is necessary to carry out more purposefully the work on the use of the internal reserves of the subdivisions. It is possible to achieve the basic combination of these two components, in our opinion, by using the methods of social planning. And although favorable conditions have been created at present for the drafting of the plans of the social development of the fire service subdivisions [7], nevertheless the questions of the assurance of fire safety and the development of the fire service have still not found proper reflection either in the systems of indicators of social development and planning, which are being elaborated, or in the recommendations on the compilation of the plans of social development of enterprises, sectors and administrative territorial regions.

FOOTNOTE

1. The data of a study of the social development of collectives of the fire service, which was conducted by the author under the supervision of Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor S. F. Frolov, are used in the article. In all, 46 managerial workers of the fire service, 929 staff members of fire-fighting units in Moscow and in 30 regions of the country were surveyed. The survey in Moscow Oblast was based on a 27-percent representative regionalized series sample with the systematized selection of the units (fire-fighting units). Those who responded affirmatively to the question: "Would you like to transfer to a different job?" were considered potentially mobile, while those who responded negatively were considered potentially stable. The materials were processed on a computer at the sociological laboratory of the Ufa Institute of Aviation.

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CSOL 1806/18

MORAL QUALITIES OF PHYSICAL CULTURISTS AND ATHLETES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 116-119

/Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Vladimir Mikhaylovich Sokolov, do-
cent of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee, and
Honored Master of Sports of the USSR Lidiya Pavlovna Polozkova, graduate student
of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee: "Moral
Qualities of Physical Culturists and Athletes"/

/Not translated by JPRS/

CSO: 1806/18

ATTITUDE OF YOUNG PEOPLE TOWARD PREMARITAL SEX

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 119-121

/Article by David El'yevich Nemirovskiy, resident physician of the Chernovitskaya Oblast Psychoneurological Hospital: "On the Attitude of Young People Toward Premarital Sex Life"

/Text/ The sphere of the intimate interrelations of a man and a woman for the present remains inadequately studied. Meanwhile, the data of surveys attest to changes which are taking place in sexual morals. In this sense the information, which is obtained during the psychological and hygienic consultation of young couples who have submitted applications to the civil registry office, is of interest.

For the purpose of identifying the aims at premarital sex life and the attitude toward it, we conducted a survey of future newlyweds.¹ Of those surveyed, 38.5 percent approve of premarital sexual relations, 58.4 percent condemn them, 3.1 percent do not have a clearly expressed opinion (among men respectively 43.6, 53.5 and 2.9 percent; among women 33.5, 63.1 and 3.4 percent). Our data differ substantially from those obtained by A. G. Kharchev in Leningrad [1]. This, apparently, stems from the differences in the composition of those surveyed: students and the engineering and technical intelligentsia were surveyed in Leningrad, the educational composition of our respondents was heterogeneous.

The term "premarital sexual relations" covers chance sexual contacts, the relations between lovers, between fiance and fiancée, and long-term relations which are based on considerations of a pragmatic nature.² It is obvious that their evaluation from a moral and ethical standpoint should be different.

1. In 1978-1979 254 men and 260 women, residents of Chernovtsy and the neighboring villages, were surveyed during consultations.
2. Among the utilitarian and pragmatic reasons there are most often encountered such reasons as "physiological need," "the desire to verify physiological compatibility," "the desire to verify relations," "the aspiration to obtain the maximum pleasures in life." The rejection of sexual contacts can also be explained pragmatically: the apprehension of becoming pregnant, the fear of venereal diseases.

Love, moral and ethical principles and traditions determine the positive or negative aim toward premarital sexual relations for 61.0 percent of those surveyed, 31.0 percent are guided by narrow practical considerations, 7.4 percent cannot explain the reasons for their attitude, 0.6 percent justify such relations only for men and condemn them only for women. Of those who approve of premarital sexual relations 75.3 percent explain them by love, 19.7 percent explain them pragmatically, 3.6 percent do not give explanations, 1.4 percent justify premarital sex life only of men.

The tolerant and even approving attitude of young couples toward premarital sexual experience to a certain extent attests to the "liberalization" of sexual morals, while the frequently displayed utilitarian motivation of their behavior or views attests to oversights in the system of education.

Among those who condemn premarital sexual relations 51.7 percent are guided by moral and ethical norms and traditions, 38.3 percent base themselves on pragmatic considerations, 0.6 percent consider them wrong only for women, the remaining 9.7 percent were not able to give reasons for their point of view. In isolated instances the girls explained such an attitude by the requirement "to treasure a virgin's pride, honor, worth," by the desire "to feel something new in marriage," "by responsibility for feelings."

It is rather interesting to note that boys and girls, who justify premarital sexual life, when it is a consequence of love and is based on serious interrelations, and condemn chance sexual relations as immoral and frivolous, gave more precise and profound responses. Probably, this is explained by the strict analysis of one's own behavior in connection with the need to substantiate one's own moral standpoint, which differs from ingrained norms and traditions. Some of the respondents of this group regard positively sexual relations out of love, regardless of whether they end with marriage, and there are twice as many women among them as men.

The group of those who reject premarital sexual contacts on the basis of utilitarian and pragmatic considerations merits special attention. There are no moral criteria behind this position, although traditional morals are not formally violated. "It is possible to be abandoned," "it is like a game: it is not known how it will end," "deceit is possible"--in these instances sexual abstinence before marriage is explained by such reasons. At times men also express fear of the consequences of premarital sexual relations: "it is possible to get venereal disease," "they may force you to get married." The opinion about the permissibility of premarital sexual contacts for a boy and the reprehensibility of such behavior for a girl is a reflection of the still persisting conservatism in the views on the relations between a man and a woman.

A dependence between the level of education of the respondents and their attitude toward premarital sexual experience was found during our survey. Among those who have an incomplete secondary and secondary education about one-third justify it, among those who have received a secondary specialized education considerably more than a third do, among students of higher educational institutions and people with a completed higher education more than half do, and in the first two groups substantial differences which are a result of the sex of those surveyed are observed: the girls hold more traditional views. In the last group such a

differentiation is practically absent. In our opinion, this is explained not so much by education as by the age of those surveyed.

Based on the results of the conducted study, it is possible to draw the conclusion that the moral criterion is the key one in the appraisal of premarital sexual relations. But often a consumerist psychology is concealed behind the "liberalization" of sexual life. This raises serious problems on the level of the increase of the effectiveness of educational work among young people.

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CONSUMERISM IN CAPITALIST HIGHER EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 121-123

/Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Docent Tat'yana Serafimovich Georgiyeva, senior research associate of the Scientific Research Institute of the Higher School of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education: "Consumerism in the Higher Educational System of the Capitalist Countries"/

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TO THE AID OF THE PLANT SOCIOLOGIST

ORGANIZATION OF A GROUP SURVEY AT AN INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 124-130

/Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Vera Dmitriyevna Voynova, senior research associate of the Sector of Public Opinion of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Nina Yevgen'yevna Chernakova, senior research associate of the Sector of Problems of Communist Education and Personality Development of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The Organization of a Group Survey at an Industrial Enterprise"

/Text With the development and extensive dissemination in our country of sociological studies the task of increasing the quality and reliability of empirical information is acquiring particular urgency. Considerable work has already been done in this direction. In particular, the basic methods of gathering primary empirical data (the survey, the study of documentary sources, observation) have been adequately elaborated and described in Soviet sociological literature. Less attention is devoted to individual versions of these methods, although they are used extensively in practice.

What has been said also concerns the group survey, in spite of the fact that the urgency of the examination of the procedural problems of its organization at present does not raise doubts: this method is being actively used, specially by plant sociologists who frequently do not have adequate professional knowledge.

The simultaneous, but individual surveying of a group of respondents gathered in one room, which is used comparatively often in sociology, is understood as the group survey. Thus, it is a question of a specific method of identifying and studying the individual opinions of people, their motives, attitude toward specific events and facts of social life, which differs substantially, on the one hand, from collective interviewing, the goal of which is the study of collective opinion and the process of its formation, and, on the other, from the survey at home, the mail questionnaire and others.

An indisputable merit of the group survey is its economy, that is, the possibility of obtaining representative information promptly, with the minimum material expenditures and a small number of specialists who participate in conducting it as compared with the individual survey. Another advantage of this method consists in the fact that on the condition of its competent and skillful use the individual,

independent filling out of the field document by precisely those people who were included in the sample (and not by members of their families, not by the family as a whole, as is the case at times) is guaranteed. At the same time it is possible to ensure greater anonymity than in the situation of direct contact of the pollster with the respondent, on the condition of the practically complete return of the questionnaires. Let us note that in mail surveys, which ensure the absolute certainty for the person being surveyed of the anonymity of the document filled out by him, the organizers of the study get back only a small portion of the questionnaires sent out earlier.

To be sure, the group survey is not free of drawbacks. There should be grouped with the most significant of them, which to a certain extent limit its application, first of all such drawbacks as the probability of the distortion of the data under the influence of direct or indirect pressure of the group; the comparatively small (as compared with the questionnaire distributed at home) amount of obtained information; organizational difficulties which are connected with the need to select a time and place convenient for the survey and so forth.

By group pressure we mean both the direct obstacles, which arise during the survey as a result of talk between the respondents and the possibility of copying another person's answer, and the fact known to psychologists of the change of behavior of the individual in the presence of other people, especially members of his community and collective. Whereas the obstacles of the first type can be eliminated comparatively easily in the case of the skillful conducting of the survey, there are no methods of completely eliminating the influence of group pressure of the second type, since it remains to one extent or another even when the individuals united in the group are not acquainted with each other. Consequently, it is necessary to know how to evaluate correctly the obstacles which arise and to determine the situations in which they are so great that they cast doubt on the expediency of the study. As experience shows, this is entirely possible.

Thus, the advantages of the group survey are very significant, but the difficulties connected with its use are not in the least more significant than in the case of the use of any other version of the survey. Therefore, the skeptical rejection of this method by some specialists seems more far-fetched than well founded.

The errors in the organization of the group survey, which stem from the inadequate occupational training of its performers, are another matter. There are still frequent instances when a carelessly compiled questionnaire is handed out to an enormous audience, and then is collected only partially filled out by half, or else one-fourth of those who received it, when the questionnaires are simply turned over to the representatives of the administration or the public organizations of enterprises, whom no one instructs on the methods of conducting the survey. However, the incompetence or carelessness of the performers always does irrevocable harm to the study, regardless of the method by which it is carried out.

When conducting a study by means of the group survey it is necessary to take into account the specific nature of this method. First of all we should speak about the demands on the field document: it should be comparatively small in size and should include questions which are simple in types and wordings. It is desirable for the questionnaire to consist of not more than 30-40 questions (among which

there are also items concerning objective data about the respondent). In the preparation of the field document an important role belongs to its approbation--a pilot study, owing to which it is possible to change the unsuccessful wordings, to identify the "inoperative" questions, to take into account the remarks of the respondents and so on.

For the evaluation of the degree of reliability of the data obtained by means of the group survey it is desirable during the period of the pilot study, along with the simultaneous surveying of the group of people, to conduct an individual survey of the representatives of a category of the population, which is similar with respect to sociodemographic attributes. It is best if in both cases, let us assume, workers of the same shop play the role of those being surveyed. A comparison of the results will make it possible to ascertain whether a danger of the distortion of the responses under the influence of group pressure exists, how significant the deviations are and so on. In one of the pilot studies on the basis of such a comparison it was possible to establish that the type of survey does not influence absolutely the content of the responses of the workers, while for the representatives of the intelligentsia this circumstance turns out to be extremely important. At times the results of a pilot study convince one of the pointlessness of using the group survey in a specific case.

The type of sample, which is proposed in the program of a study, can be a significant hindrance to the use of the group survey method. For example, it is practically impossible to combine a random representative sampling, which has been made on the basis of lists of voters, with group surveying, since it is extremely difficult to bring the respondents together, when only their home addresses are known. The quota or random sampling of the workers of a specific industrial enterprise or organization, who work in the same place, during specific hours, is a different matter. But group surveys are most convenient when it is a matter of the complete coverage of one population or another which is being studied (the surveying of all the members of a brigade, all the participants in some meeting, the entire audience of a lecture and so forth).

An important organizational matter is the preliminary preparation of the survey: it is necessary to make arrangements with the management of the organization, at which the conducting of the study is planned, to solve the question of the time of its conducting, the proper facilities, the appropriate conditions (lighting, the required number of places convenient for filling out the questionnaires, the absence of extraneous noises and so forth). It is desirable for someone from the administration or public organizations to present the sociologists to the survey participants. There should also be prepared the necessary number of questionnaires (which is determined by the size of the audience), identical pencils or fountain pens for everyone and a box, if it is necessary to convince the respondents of the anonymity of the information received from them.

A professional sociologist carries out the direct supervision of the group survey. However, assistants usually aid him during the conducting of the survey. With an optimum size of the audience of 25-30 people it is sufficient to have 2-3 assistants. A brief and concise explanation of the goals and tasks of the study, the technique of filling out the questionnaire as a whole and the individual types of questions contained in it, the creation of the appropriate sociopsychological

atmosphere, the maintenance of the necessary order and quiet in the auditorium and the organization of the procedure of the return of the completed documents first of all are included in the functions of the supervisor of the survey.

The functions of the assistants consist in the handing out of the questionnaires, the explanation if necessary to individual respondents of the questions unclear to them and so forth. Not only professional sociologists can act as assistants, but in any case they should be people who are well informed about the tasks of the survey being conducted and are acquainted with the content and the technique of filling out the questionnaire and with the rules of association with the respondents during the study. Experience shows that it is inadvisable to enlist for work as assistants members of the collective being studied, since the relations established between people may influence the results of the survey.

The stage of the final acceptance of the questionnaires and the rejection of those of them which are not suitable for further processing and analysis, are of great importance under the conditions of the group survey. In the case of the use of this method, especially when the need exists to ensure anonymity, frequently there turns out to be a certain number--at times a considerable number--of questions which have been left unanswered, which, of course, decreases the value of the obtained information. However, if one or several of the questions have been skipped by the majority of those being surveyed, this still does not mean that the questionnaires as a whole are useless. The corresponding items of the field document simply should not be analyzed. It is also not at all mandatory to reject the individual questionnaire in which two or three questions have been left unanswered. In the case of a competently, skillfully compiled questionnaire and the correct organization of the study, as a rule, one does not have occasion to come across situations when as a result of the final check the absolute majority of questionnaires end up as rejects or the sampling is seriously violated (that is, the analysis of the information no longer makes sense). In any case the final judgment on the collected batch of questionnaires is given not on the basis of acquaintance with individual documents, but only after the study of their entirety with respect to each question. The methods of decreasing the impact of the loss of information when conducting group surveys will be discussed below.

At the final stage of the study--during the analysis of its results--the consideration of the specific nature of the method in question of gathering data takes the form of the correction of the conclusions, if during the pilot study or the basic study some (negligible) distortion of the opinions of the respondents under the influence of group pressure has been observed.

So far we have spoken about the characteristics of the group survey, which are common to all its versions. However, depending on the peculiarities of the specific group of people (whether it has been organized specially by the sociologist or has been brought together regardless of the study for the implementation of some measure) the procedure of the survey can change substantially. Therefore, in our opinion, precisely the nature of the uniting of the people being surveyed into a group should act as the basis for the distinction of the versions of group surveys.

The main and integral attribute of the group surveys, which we arbitrarily assign to their first version, is the fact of the one-time uniting of people into a group

for the individual written completion of field documents on the initiative of a researcher and in his presence. Here the individuals, who have been brought together in a specific place, are a part of the sample population, a part of the overall block of those being surveyed. In organizing such a survey, the sociologist has the opportunity to regulate the size of the group with which he has to work, to bring it close to the optimum size from the point of view of the interests of the study and to select the most convenient place and time to conduct it. In other words, in this case he is not adapting to the situation, but is creating it.

This type of the gathering of primary information is being used quite extensively by sociologists of the socialist countries (especially the USSR and Bulgaria) and somewhat less frequently at the sociological centers of the capitalist countries /1-4/. In methods literature it appears under different names: "the direct questionnaire with a box," "a distributed questionnaire with a box" and so forth, but the word "box" is invariably present, which testifies to the recognition of the special advantages of precisely such a method of the return of the questionnaires. The latter ensures complete anonymity and, hence, makes it possible to use the group survey for ascertaining opinions on a number of specific and pressing problems (for example, with respect to negative social phenomena: drunkenness, parasitism, petty thefts of state property and so forth).

However, as experience shows, at times it is also possible and expedient to use other procedures of collecting documents, to do without the traditional boxes entirely. Moreover, if the content of the questionnaire is such that there is obviously no need for the strict observance of anonymity, each completed questionnaire should be glanced over. This will make it possible to avoid omissions in the responses, which result from the carelessness of the respondent. True, it is not a simple thing to implement such a procedure, since usually a significant portion of the participants in the survey finish filling out the questionnaires at the same time.

The analysis of the practice of conducting group surveys makes it possible to formulate a number of additional recommendations for those who are going to be conducting them for the first time:

- 1) the question of organizing the study should be submitted for approval in advance, and at the proper level--to the administration of the enterprise or institution, kolkhoz or sovkhoz, and then to the managers of the intermediate lower level (the chief of the shop, the brigade leader and so on);

- 2) when selecting the future respondents (in conformity with the principles formulated in the section of the program of the study, which is devoted to the sampling) it is expedient to direct one's attention to the assistance of the executives of the elected organs of the primary party, trade union or Komsomol organizations. For example, if within one of the shops of a large industrial enterprise it is necessary to survey a specific number of workers, who belong to different groups according to sex, age, education and so forth, the chairman of the shop committee of the trade union may give assistance in the selection of individuals with the appropriate sociodemographic characteristics, who work during the same shift;

- 3) it is necessary always to take into account the nature and peculiarities of the labor activity of those being surveyed. Thus, it is more convenient to bring together drivers, who are constantly on the road, before the start of the shift or after it is over, it is better to survey instructors of schools after the end of classes. When studying workers of agriculture, it is necessary to become acquainted with the work schedule of the people of a specific occupation during one season of the year or another;
- 4) the most convenient time for conducting a survey at industrial enterprises is the period between shifts (it is best of all after the end of work of the first shift--in the middle of the day);
- 5) the most suitable place for a group survey at enterprises and institutions, kolkhozes and sovkhoses is the shop "recreation centers," the halls for meetings, houses of culture, clubs. The so-called common rooms, the recreation rooms are not always suitable for this purpose not only because it is difficult to arrange tables and chairs in them, but first of all due to the disenchanting influence of the very atmosphere of these premises, where people have grown accustomed to relaxing and not working;
- 6) the results of pilot studies prove that under our conditions the fact of the simultaneous filling out of questionnaires by rank and file workers and their immediate supervisors in practice does not influence the nature of the responses;
- 7) if in the group there are one or two people who publicly express their negative or superficial attitude toward the survey, they should be politely asked to refuse to fill out the questionnaires and to leave the room in which the surveying is being carried out;
- 8) it is necessary to warn all the participants in the survey in the introductory speech that in case any confusion arises when filling out the questionnaire they should turn individually and as quietly as possible to one of the assistants for an explanation;
- 9) the work with the questionnaire creates special difficulties, as a rule, for people with an education of less than the seventh grade of secondary school; if in the group they constitute a majority, it is necessary to devote close attention to the question of the procedure of filling out the questionnaire in the introductory speech; if the number of people with a low level of education is negligible, assistants should first of all be sent precisely to them for additional explanations.

It is possible to call the second version the group audience survey, since people who make up some audience, for example, the attendants of a public lecture, here perform the role of those being surveyed. Thus, it is a matter of the individual, but joint and simultaneous surveying of a group of individuals, who have been united regardless of the sociological study for participation in some measure (for example, a meeting) or for the joint viewing of a play, a movie and so on.

So far clearly inadequate attention has been devoted to the specific nature of such surveys, although the need to conduct them arises very often: when it is necessary to find out the immediate reaction of people to certain specific events and

situations or others, in which they are participants, to works of art, with which they have just become acquainted. In our opinion, this specific nature can be identified and described most completely on the condition of the distinction of at least two subtypes of audience surveys: 1) the surveying of stable audiences (the group of participants in meetings of the party organization of a specific shop, the meetings of the local trade union committee at the plant and so on is an example of them); 2) the surveying of various random audiences (their typical examples are the audience of some one performance at a movie theater, the attendants of a public lecture in a city park and so forth).

Let us turn to the experience of one of the largest comprehensive sociological studies which have been conducted in our country--"The Functioning of Public Opinion Under the Conditions of the City and the Activity of State and Public Institutions," which was conducted under the supervision of B. A. Grushin in 1968-1973 by the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences /5/. Within this project the authors of this article had occasion to perform repeatedly the role of the organizers and direct supervisors of surveys, which belong to the two subtypes named above. Many of the versions were being used for the first time in the practice of not only domestic, but also world sociology.

For the purpose of studying the activity of the meetings of the public organizations of labor collectives as a channel of the expression of public opinion a conventional survey on the attitude of the workers toward the meetings was conducted and the people participating in the discussions were surveyed. Along with this it was necessary to establish how the individual groups of the audience of specific meetings perceive the situations arising during them and the agenda, how they react to the reports and discussions, how they participate in making decisions and so on. It was possible to clear up these issues by means of a group audience survey, which was very specific in its procedure, since it provided for two-stage surveying: one questionnaire was filled out by all the participants in a specific meeting before it started, the other was filled out after it was over. Using the example of this unique study it is possible to examine all the basic difficulties which the sociologist has to face when elaborating the procedure of the simultaneous individual surveying of the representatives of the stable audience.

The original cause of all the arising difficulties consists in the fact that the sociologist does not organize the situation of the survey at his own discretion, but is forced to adjust himself, to adapt himself to the activity of the meeting and to try to see to it that the surveying would not be a hindrance to its work and would not disturb the natural flow of those processes which the researcher is studying. The number of participants in such measures frequently exceeds the size of the population, which is optimum for a group survey, at times the meetings are conducted in rooms which are little suited for surveying, it is not always easy and convenient to delay people who have gathered after work to discuss some question which is important to the collective. Under these conditions the sociologist should, first, offer to the audience a questionnaire which is as clear as possible and requires the minimum time to complete; second, should be able to interest the management of the organization and the future participants in the survey in the study and convince them of its usefulness and urgency; third, should elaborate such an organizational plan of the survey, so that not a minute of time would be wasted, while not more than half an hour would be spent on the distribution, filling out and collection of the documents.

In the above-mentioned study it was possible to successfully solve all these problems. The need for two separate questionnaires was dictated by the aspiration to avoid interference in the natural course of the meeting and not to inform people before the proper time about the things they would have to bring back to mind when answering the corresponding questions of the second questionnaire. The sociologists were able not to be present at the meeting itself, since it usually took place without the participation of outsiders. So that the two separate parts of the questionnaire, which were completed by the same person, could be combined in the process of processing and analysis, each of the respondents along with the first of them was given a card with a number, which was written on both questionnaire forms.

As a whole, including both parts of it, the questionnaire consisted in all of 30 simple questions. Not more than 15 minutes were required to complete it in two sittings. The survey before the start of the meeting (taking into account the time for the introductory speech, the distribution of the documents, their completion and collection), as a rule, took no more than 20 minutes, after it was over--no more than 15 minutes. In order to keep within such a short time, a considerable number of assistants (five or six) were required, it was necessary to work out carefully the text of the introductory speech.

But, perhaps, the surveys of random audiences, when the sociologist has to tolerate the drawbacks of the premises, the overcrowding of those being surveyed, the impossibility of influencing the completeness of the filling out of the questionnaires and the quite high proportion of unreturned documents, involve the greatest organizational difficulties. He should settle beforehand the question of changing the length of the movie showing and the lecture, within the framework of which it is proposed to conduct the survey, should dispose to work the people who have come to relax and enjoy themselves, should see to it that during the period of the conducting of the study the room would be better lit and, of course, should not overlook the main thing--the organization of the prompt and precise completion of the field documents and their timely collection from the absolute majority of the audience.

We have mentioned here only a few of the difficulties which arise in the course of the survey of random audiences. In reality there are considerably more of them, every study makes it incumbent to solve new and unexpected problems. All this makes natural the question of the advisability of using this method and the reliability of the data obtained by means of it.

In our opinion, only practice can give an answer to this question. The rapid surveys of the audience of public lectures, which were conducted within the above-mentioned project, made it possible to obtain information on the attitude of various groups of the population toward propaganda, which could not have been obtained by any other means.

As a whole when conducting the types of surveys distinguished by us not so much the very process of surveying as the organizational problems connected with it change. The examination of the general characteristics of the group survey and the features of its individual types makes it possible to formulate a number of general conclusions.

The group survey affords a researcher extensive opportunities for the efficient study of the opinions, value orientations and attitudes of people toward various

phenomena of social life, specific events and facts. There should be grouped with the main merits of the method the mass nature of the "picture of opinions" being revealed and its economy. It is possible to obtain the most effective results in the case of the combination of the group survey with other methods: the in-depth interviewing of a portion of those surveyed, observation.

Thus, the need for the careful analysis of the problems of a procedural nature, especially those connected with the development of the appropriate field documents, which concern the forms and methods of stating the questions and so forth, which at present are not being touched upon at all in Soviet sociological literature, does not raise doubts.

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METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

REPEATED STUDIES IN APPLIED SOCIOLOGY

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[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Valentina Viktorovna Yermakova, senior instructor of the Chair of Philosophy of the Orel State Pedagogical Institute, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Valeriy Valentinovich Patsiorkovskiy, chief of a laboratory of the Central Institute of Economic Mathematics of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Frants Edmundovich Sheregi, chief of the Department of Methods of Sociological Research of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Repeated Studies in Applied Sociology"]

[Text] The majority of applied sociological studies conducted in the country in the past two decades have been of an "instantaneous" nature. This is explained by a number of reasons, among which there should be named the very broad thematic spectrum of the studies, as well as the fact that the study of the majority of themes was carried out for the first time. According to the data of a content analysis of Soviet sociological literature for 1970-1973, 22 percent of the studies were devoted to problems of labor, 14 percent--problems of young people, 10.5 percent--problems of the individual and the collective, 9.5 percent--problems of the family and everyday life, 9 percent--problems of the formation of social needs, 7.5 percent--problems of the effectiveness of ideological, political and propaganda work, 6 percent--questions of social control and planning, 4.5 percent--questions of social structure, population and migration, 4 percent--questions of the way of life, 4 percent--questions of the development of the city and the countryside, 4 percent--questions of free time, 3.5 percent--questions of mass communication, 1 percent--questions of social forecasting, 0.5 percent--questions of public opinion and so on [1]. Each direction of research required the elaboration of its own programs and procedural tools, their approval, further specification and so on. If we arbitrarily take as the criterion of the efficiency and reliability of the method not the introduction of the results of the study in practice, but the fact of publication, in this case 2 years on the average pass from the moment of the conducting of the study to the publication of its results. In connection with the low efficiency of studies (only 46 percent were carried out in less than 1 year, 34 percent took from 1 to 2 years, 20 percent took more than 2 years) the check of the reliability of the procedural apparatus is very complicated. The above-cited data were obtained about 6 years ago, and it would be possible to attribute them to the history of the development of applied sociology. However, the data of other authors [2] attest that the majority of the named problems have retained their

topicality. The reasons here are various: the lengthiness of the periods of the studies in connection with their scale; the lack locally of computer programs for the processing of sociological information; thematic dispersion, which is due to the lack of orders for the studies being conducted. At the same time the study of each new problem requires the elaboration of new programs and methods and proof of their validity. Meanwhile, the questions of the unification of the tools and the standardization of the indicators for the purpose of ensuring the maximum comparability of the data of different studies remain unresolved.

Apparently, this explains the fact that in sociological literature negligible attention is devoted to repeated and panel studies.

At the same time even the few repeated studies conducted in the country during the past 10 years make it possible to draw a number of very useful generalizations and conclusions. In this connection it seems important to us, taking into account the available experience of conducting repeated studies, to describe some methodological and procedural prerequisites of conducting them.

The analysis of sociological literature makes it possible to infer the lack of complete unity in the definition of the repeated and the panel studies.

Thus, D. L. Konstantinovskiy and V. N. Shubkin consider to be a repeated-panel study "the type of social study, which presumes the reiterated study of the same social object" [3, p 57]. It turns out that within the same article the study is called first a repeated, then a panel study [4]. In reality these two concepts are not identical, although they describe studies which are similar in nature, but differ substantially in the goals and tasks. On the one hand, according to the time criterion, the panel study is a special case of the repeated study. On the other, the former can differ from the latter not only with respect to the tasks, but also with respect to the methods of implementation. Therefore, although the panel study is also viewed within the repeated study, nevertheless its individual stages require a special analysis.

The specific nature of the repeated study makes it possible to define it as that type of comparative sociological analysis, which is aimed at the identification of the dynamics of a statistically constant social object and is made on the basis of a uniform program and method of gathering information during two or several stages over specific intervals of time. In other words, the repeated study permits certain changes in the composition of the population of people being studied (the sampled population), being at the same time at each of the stages representative with respect to the general population. The panel study, on the contrary, envisages the reiterated study of the same population of respondents over specific time intervals according to a uniform program and method.

The panel survey is indispensable when studying the causal relationship between the influence on an individual of certain factors or others (including the change of living conditions), as well as when analyzing the formation of aims, the change of behavior and so forth. The studies of this type, which have been conducted in our country, have been devoted for the most part to how the introduction of a 5-day work week affected the change of the structure of the leisure of the individual, the plans in life of the graduates of secondary schools and others. In the

meantime it is not always possible to retain the population of those being studied over a long period, therefore more often repeated studies are used and only in exceptional cases are panel studies used. The latter circumstance is connected not so much with the stability of the object of the study as with the specific nature of the problems being worked on.

Among the advantages of repeated studies is the genetic approach to the phenomena of social life which are being studied. On the basis of the fact that the influence of various factors on the social process takes place in time, during the repeated study it is necessary to link the genetic approach to the analysis of the object with the breakdown of the process being studied into a number of successive periods and stages, which make it possible to examine it in development. The best known repeated and panel studies, which were conducted in our country in the 1960's and 1970's, are listed below /5/.

The majority of such studies are conducted during the compilation of the plans of the social development of industrial enterprises and production associations, cities, rayons and so on. At the same time the questions of the methodology and methods of conducting them are very poorly covered in the literature.

Of course, being one of the types of comparative analysis, the repeated study has many of its features. First of all this pertains to the methods of gathering, measuring and analyzing the information. However, the repeated study of phenomena of social life, which is conducted under the conditions of continuous social changes, involves the overcoming of a number of organizational, methodological and procedural difficulties which stem from the very statement of the research task.

The Planning of the Repeated Study. Practice shows that the most important condition of the assurance of the comparability of data is the planning of the sociological study from the very start as a repeated study, the results of which may become the basis of a social forecast. The dynamics of the object and the "background" effect (the data of statistics, the planned change of the economic characteristics of the object and so on) should be taken into account in the program. Such an analysis makes it possible to foresee the changes which may occur in the object of the study under the influence of planned measures and the factors of socioeconomic development, in order to identify at the stage of the designing of the repeated study the degree of stability of the basic characteristics of the object. To be sure, each period of time in the development of the phenomenon being studied makes adjustments in the process of its study, but the main direction and theoretical concepts of the study should be specified before it is conducted.

All this not only does not rule out but, on the contrary, presumes the need to coordinate the tasks and prerequisites of the study, which were formulated at the preceding stages, with the new requirements of social practice. For example, in the study of the socioeconomic problems of the development of the countryside such coordination was achieved owing to the elaboration of such a systems concept of the agrarian portion of society, which made it possible to integrate several directions of the studies: the construction of a comprehensive program of a socioeconomic model of the agrarian sector, the study of its socioterritorial structure and the way of life of the rural population /6, p 67/.

An important feature of the repeated study is the existence of a certain gap between its theoretical concept and method. This gap is of an objective nature: "the concept is developed and improved continuously, a significant period is necessary for the development and especially the testing of the method of study" /6, p 8/. Of course, the new elements of the concept will find reflection only in the method of the subsequent stage of the study, when the concept itself will already be undergoing substantial changes.

The restrictions imposed by the occupational structure of the scientific collective and by its composition at the different stages serve as a source of the discrepancies between the concept and the method of the repeated study.

The study conducted under the supervision of B. A. Grushin serves as an example of what profound changes theoretical concepts can undergo. Whereas at the first stage the emphasis in it was placed on the study of "the information activity of the organs of social control and the population under the conditions of mature socialist society" /7, p 4/, at the second stage--10 years later--"the elaboration of a fundamental typology (the establishment and description) of the forms of the way of life, which exist in society, on the basis of and within the examination of the activity of the urban population on the use of mass information" was at the center of attention /8, p 179/. It is understandable that the obtaining and analysis of dynamic series, which make it possible to see the changes of the mass information activity of the urban population over 10 years, began to be regarded as a "supplementary" task of the study /Ibid./.

It is no accident that the dynamic of the changes was traced better in those conducted repeated and panel studies, in which the theoretical concepts and accordingly the method were transformed the least. First of all this pertains to the study of the problems of education and the choice of occupations. The various changes of the programs and methods in these studies reflected primarily the changes in the object itself.

The wording of the task of the redescription of the object (which is under new conditions) by means of developed theoretical concepts presumes the comprehensive nature of the study. Comprehensiveness as an integral, thorough study of social activity is traditionally inherent in the sociological analysis. However, as P. N. Fedoseyev noted, "the problem of comprehensiveness is not something which has arisen once and has been frozen in its original form. The development of scientific knowledge leads to the appearance and movement to the forefront of newer and newer aspects of it" /9/. And whereas quite recently the in-depth and thorough study of social phenomena within the more or less precise boundaries of the different sectorial directions (industrial sociology, the sociology of education, public opinion and so on) was understood as the comprehensive nature of the sociological study, today the comprehensive study is first of all an interdisciplinary study, in which the efforts of sociologists, economists, lawyers, demographers and other scientists are united within a single theoretical program. It is clear that the subject of the study in such a program should synthesize the sectorial research subjects and should not coincide with any of them.

As experience shows, nearly all of the conducted repeated studies were comprehensive, multipurpose studies. The study by Leningrad sociologists of the

prerequisites of the activeness of the individual in the sphere of labor in 1962 was supplemented in 1976 by the analysis of the social and sociopsychological prerequisites of the activeness of the individual in the spheres of social control, free time and the use of the mass media. The program of the study of the socioeconomic problems of the well-being, which at the first stage of the study had only one design--"the standard of living"--was supplemented 10 years later by several more designs ("the way of life," "the family," "health" and so on).

The comprehensiveness of repeated studies is not least of all governed by the object of the study. Such complex social formations as the agrarian sector of society, the city and labor simply cannot be examined within the framework of the old concepts.

The Comparability of the Results of Repeated Studies. The question of the comparability of social indicators remains debatable both on the level of the specification and construction of the indicators and with respect to the provision of the conditions (prerequisites) of their comparability. However, this does not mean that the possibility of comparing information is totally absent. In the repeated study the problem of the comparability of the indicators can be solved on the basis of the use of the principle of the operationalization of concepts and measurement /10/. Its solution presumes the use of an identical method, the creation of an analogous situation of the survey, the unity of the organizational techniques at all its phases and so on. The changes, which occur in the object itself during the period being studied, and the development of the knowledge about it require some modification of the tools. For example, the introduction of new questions in repeated studies may be due to the need to take into account the effect of important events which influence the state of the object. In such cases the problem of the comparability of the information according to the newly introduced questions is automatically eliminated. However, it must not be forgotten that the basic goal of the repeated study is the obtaining of information which characterizes the process in dynamics; therefore, the data of each stage should to a certain extent correspond to the preceding ones.

It is possible in the case of the introduction of new questions to ensure comparability with the data of the preceding phase of the study by means of retrospective questions, which are aimed at the obtaining of information which relates to the past (in this case to the period of time, which corresponds to the preceding stage of the study). Of course, it is possible to obtain not just any information on the basis of retrospective questions, since the researcher has to rely on the memory of the respondents. It is necessary to strive for the maximum conformity between the newly introduced questions and the initial questions. (It should be taken into account that certain changes in the program and method of the repeated study at each new stage are objectively dictated and in principle are inevitable.)

The reduction to a minimum of the amount of information being gathered (and, hence, the measuring procedures and the questions in the questionnaire) is important because the conducting of each subsequent stage of the study leads at least to the doubling of the amount of primary information. The coefficient of the constancy of the questions, which are included in the questionnaire at the individual stages, may be a means which controls the correlation of the new and transient questions in the questionnaire at the different stages of the study. This coefficient K_c is

expressed by the ratio of the number of questions, which are common to the questionnaires of the two stages (N), to the number of all the questions of the questionnaire of the first stage N_1 :

$$K_c = \frac{N}{N_1} \cdot 100\%.$$

Evidently, this coefficient can be used as a criterion which establishes the repetition of the information base of the study. Thus, the program of the socioeconomic study of the Siberian countryside at the second stage, in 1972, reproduced 70 percent of the questions of the 1967 program, the remaining questions were revised or had become obsolete. The program of the third stage, 1977, retained on the average 75 percent of the questions of the 1972 program, including all the questions asked in 1967 and 1972 /11/.

In the studies "The Standard of Living and the Socioeconomic Problems of the Well-Being" and "Urgent Problems of the Education of Young People and the Choice of Occupation" the values of this coefficient come to more than 90 percent, while in the design "Mass Information in the City" it comes to less than 20 percent. It is understandable that its maximum value (100 percent) will attest to the complete continuity of the tools at all the stages of the study. Difficulties arise when determining the lower threshold of the value of the coefficient, which makes it possible to speak about the repetition (panel nature) of the study.

Practice shows that before introducing changes in the tools of the repeated study, it is necessary to examine their influence on the end results, as well as their effect on the comparability of the information obtained at different time "points."

The correlation between the indicators and the indices can serve as the main and to a sufficient extent the universal criterion of comparability /12/. It is desirable to place the indices and indicators in a single-valued correspondence, which transforms the index into an index number. But since the correlation and comparison are carried out at the level of the index, the indicators themselves acquire a greater degree of freedom and in principle can change at the different stages of the study: in time, according to the objects of the study, according to the place of the conducting of the study. Every index, as a rule, requires for its construction a large number of indicators. For example, in order to trace the nature of intrafamily relations in accordance with the three states of the performance of the household functions in the family (see the table), in the study 12 indicators were used, each of which could assume values according to a trivariate scale (36 values in all).¹

The aspiration for a minimum set of indicators is legitimate. However, this set should be complete enough in order to take into account all the possible changes in the object. (Thus, in families which do not have children, indicators 10-12 will not be taken into account at the first stage of the study, but this does not rule out their consideration at the second stage.) The number of indicators increases or decreases depending on the object of the study (for example, in rural

1. The examples are taken from a questionnaire /13/, which was used in the study of G. V. Papoyan.

areas the indicator "work on the private plot" may appear). Such "independence" of the indicators is natural, since they serve as the basis for the construction of various indices.

Indicators of the Performance of Household Functions in the Family and Their Values

Indicator	Husband mainly performs	Wife mainly performs	Perform jointly
1. Preparation of food.	1	13	25
2. Dish washing	2	14	26
3. Daily cleanup of apartment	3	15	27
4. Laundry.	4	16	28
5. General cleaning of apartment, washing and polishing of floors, washing of windows.	5	17	29
6. Sewing and care of clothing.	6	18	30
7. Purchase of foodstuffs	7	19	31
8. Purchase of articles of daily use.	8	20	32
9. Payment of bills	9	21	33
10. Escorting children to nursery, kindergarten or school.	10	22	34
11. Checking homework of children, attendance of parents' meetings	11	23	35
12. Dressing, bathing and feeding of small children.	12	24	36

The assurance of the comparability of the results of repeated studies advances certain demands on the achievement of organizational unity. It is a question of the maintenance throughout the process of reinterviewing of a unified collective; the creation of an identical situation, in which the survey of the respondents takes place; the observance of the identity of the time of the conducting of the study (the time of year), the place of the survey and so forth. For example, the seasonal nature of labor, weather and climatic conditions and so on influence the content of the responses of rural respondents. During the period of hard work (sowing, harvesting) the machine operators perceive more acutely the shortcomings in technical equipment and the organization of labor than during the winter period, while the workers of animal husbandry, on the contrary, sense more acutely the difficulty of physical labor during the fall-winter period. It is impossible to achieve the complete identity of the organizational situation at all the stages of the repeated study, since with time certain changes occur in the composition of the research collective, the conditions, under which the survey is conducted, and the material resources change. However, a uniform program, which takes into account the degree of influence of the changing organizational factors on the comparability of the information, to a significant extent promotes the successful conducting of the repeated study.

The use of different methods of gathering the primary information in the repeated study is planned in advance. Here it is important to provide for the constancy of the methods at all stages, although it is also impossible to rule out certain changes which are aimed at increasing the reliability of the obtained information.

The Choice of a Time Interval. The length of the time interval between the individual stages of the repeated study can be most different, since different social phenomena have a different dynamics. For example, when studying the plans in life of the young people of Novosibirskaya Oblast the interval between the stages of the study was half a year [3, p 85]. When conducting an experiment for the purpose of establishing the possibilities of shortening the workday and determining the influence of this shortening on the weekly time budget at the Yagunovskaya Mine in Kemerovo the interval between the stages of the survey in practice was equal to 1 day [14]. Short time intervals, which are characteristic of the panel study, make it possible to retain the maximum number of respondents. The choice of the time of the conducting of surveys is of particular importance for forecasting. The time of the surveys should coincide with the "culmination" points in the dynamics of the controlled characteristics of the object. Too short an interval can lead to a rectilinear forecast, while an unjustifiably large increase of the interval also distorts the reliability of the information. For example, when studying the dynamics of the public opinion of young people the first survey took place approximately 1 month before the start of the work of the 18th Komsomol Congress, the second was conducted at the beginning of the work of the congress. The data of the two surveys attested to a steady increase of the interest of young people in the materials of the congress; the trend of the increase was rectilinear. However, a third survey, which was conducted 1 month after the congress, reflected a uniform decline of interest in the publication of the named materials. Consequently, by relying only on the data of the first and second or only the second and third surveys, we would obtain trends which are opposed and are correct only for limited segments of time. The consideration of the data of the three stages, which were conducted at the properly chosen time, enabled the researchers to obtain reliable information.

The majority of repeated studies being conducted in our country consist of two stages. However, it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that the interval of 10 years, which has now become prevalent, is a result of organizational features of the conducting of a study, and not of the characteristics of the object and the needs of social practice. The most important of them is the established procedure of the planning of scientific research work, which far from always contributes to making the frequency of the delivery of the results of panel sociological studies to consumers dependent on the frequency of the change of the object of study.

The Problem of the Sample. To form the object of a study means to clearly distinguish its spatial and time boundaries. The solution of this problem during the repeated study entails a large number of difficulties, since in contrast to the "instantaneous" study the questions of the procedures of the formation of the object, their substantiation, correction and so on have to be asked repeatedly. The sample here should be universal enough in order to ensure the obtaining of representative information about the object at the different stages of its development over a specific, at times quite lengthy segment of time. It should, on the one hand, represent the state of the object being studied at each of its time points and, on the other, should be a long-range information base for the examination of not only the individual states of the object at the different stages of its development, but also its changes during the transition from one state to another.

The nature of the sample depends on the tasks of the repeated study; therefore, it is not mandatory that at each stage the sampling be made according to a uniform

scheme, it is only important that the method being used would ensure the representativeness and comparability of the data. It is desirable at each stage to construct the sample so that it would be representative for the object at the moment of the study. At the same time the object changes, while the principle of the comparability of the data presumes the maintenance of the identity of the sampled population with respect to the basic parameters. The latter is very important for the construction of forecasting models. Therefore, regardless of what method of sampling is used at the initial stage, in the case of a resurvey a quota sampling should be made, having taken as the quotas the parameters of the controlled attributes in the sample of the initial survey. If the making of a quota sampling is also undesirable for the resurvey, it can be accomplished by any method, but for the purposes of comparability a subsample is selected from the surveyed population by the quota method. The obtained information can serve as the basis for comparison with the data of the initial survey [15].

The characteristics, the decisive influence of which on the state and development of the phenomenon being studied has been demonstrated, are used in the process of designing the repeated study and at its first stage for checking the representativeness of the sample. If during the study an influence on the dynamics of the object of some characteristics previously not taken into account is found, they are included in the set of attributes for the formation of the sampled population at subsequent stages. In our opinion, the possibility of shrinking the sample exists owing to the constancy of the object of study in the repeated study at all the stages following the first stage. Without detriment to the representativeness of the collected data such a method affords an opportunity to save organizational and physical assets, as well as time when conducting the subsequent stages of the study.

For example, in our study, which was conducted at a large industrial center, about 2,000 people 18 years of age and older were surveyed by the method of the formalized interview at the place of residence. The sampled population was formed on the basis of machine selection with the use of lists of voters. The spacing of the sample is 49 people.

As the analysis of the sampled population showed, a twofold increase of the spacing of the sample practically did not change the values of the sociodemographic characteristics of the population, which ended up in the sampled population, and their correlations with the corresponding values of the attributes of the general population. The differences came to a hundredth of a percent. Moreover, a threefold increase of the spacing of the sample yielded deviations of the values of the sociodemographic characteristics of the sampled population from the corresponding values of the general population of ± 2.5 percent. The average age in the general and sampled populations was respectively 45.4, 45.8 and 44.8 years.

All this, in our opinion, makes it possible to say that the special analysis of the sampled population during the period between stages affords opportunities for more purposeful research and the efficient conducting of the subsequent stages of work.

Thus, the important conditions of the minimization of the expenditures of time and assets on conducting repeated studies, as well as the assurance of the comparability and reliability of their results are: the planning of the study as a repeated study already when drawing up the program and performing the first stage of the

field work; the coordination of the tasks and prerequisites of each of the subsequent stages with the new requirements of social practice, as well as with the results of the preceding stages of the study; the assurance of the comparability of the data by means of the continuity of the methodical procedures, the social indicators and software of the processing of the arrays of information which has been collected at the different stages of the study; the choice of a time interval, which takes into account the dynamics of the social changes taking place and ensures the topicality and practical importance of the results of the study; the consideration of the specific nature of the spatial and time parameters of the object of the repeated study, which determines the features of the tools (the information obtained by means of them should be conducive to the analysis of the dynamic characteristics of the object of the study, that is, it should be prognostic); the determination of the optimum size of the sample for each stage of the study, which makes it possible while maintaining the representativeness of the information being collected to decrease the expenditures of time and assets on its collection and processing.

The consideration of these methodological and procedural principles reveals additional means of the elaboration and improvement of the tools of repeated studies, which, undoubtedly, will become widespread in the immediate future.

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SOCIOLOGICAL DATA BANK

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/Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Vladimir Georgiyevich Andreyenkov, chief of the Department of Sociological Research Methods of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Candidate of Economic Sciences Valeriy Aleksandrovich Cherednichenko, senior research associate of the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School attached to the Komsomol Central Committee: "On the Question of the Creation of a Sociological Information Bank"/

/Text The increase of the quality and effectiveness of sociological research is directly connected with the efficiency of the information service, the level of the elaboration of the theory and methodology of scientific information activity /1, 2.

The present state of the information support of sociologists should be recognized as unsatisfactory. The dispersal of sociological centers among various departments (the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, departmental institutes) is hindering the establishment of stable channels of the exchange of information. All this is leading to the incomparability of the procedural tools. The lack of a united information center leads to the duplication of the work of researchers, they frequently spend energy and time on the development of methods and questionnaires, which have already been developed and tested at other sociological centers. The duplication of research themes creates a situation in which several specialists work simultaneously on the same problem, while other themes remain "a blank space" for a number of years, although their topicality is very great.

The extremely poor contact between locally operating sociological groups and the central institutes has the result that the materials of many studies (in the form of reports, recommendations, notes, materials of seminars) for the most part become known to only a narrow group of specialists. This results in the loss of valuable information, as well as in the decrease of the procedural level of research and the quality of the data, since monitoring on the part of the leading scientific centers in practice is absent.

The reference and information service of sociologists¹ is characterized by the following, in a certain sense opposing trends. On the one hand, the increase of the

number of sociological centers and the number of sociologists is being accompanied by their dispersal over the territory of the country and, on the other, there are the ever greater concentration and centralization of scientific and technical information in the traditional scientific centers. The majority of specialized libraries are located in large cities. In this connection the staff members of central organizations have considerable advantages in efficient and high quality information service.

The noted shortcomings decrease the quality of scientific results, increase the cost of research and lead to an increase of the nonproductive expenditures on the retrieval of information. A new approach to the organization of information service is needed.

The present development of computer hardware has made it possible to raise the question of the creation of an automated information system for the service of sociologists and of the creation of a data bank--a central organ of the information system, at which the gathering, storage and analysis of large arrays of information are carried out.

Data banks are usually intended for meeting the information needs of a wide range of users. Their creation became possible owing to the achievement of a high level of development of the hardware and software of automated information systems and the appearance of third generation computers with the corresponding technical parameters. In the USSR there are a number of data banks, the use of which makes it possible to improve substantially the information service of specialists working in the field of economics and technology /3/.

Data banks are just beginning to be assimilated in the area of the management of social processes. Thus, examples of the use of automated information systems in ideological work at the level of rayon and kray committees of the CPSU are cited in the literature /4-6/. Publications have appeared, in which individual aspects of the information support of sociologists are studied /7-9/, including the place of sociological information in the structure of social information, the role of social indicators in the "conversion" of social information, questions of its storage, as well as the main principles of the creation of an information retrieval system (IPS) in sociology /10/. On the pages of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA /11-13/ the problems of automating information processes in sociology have also been examined and the importance of the creation of a sociological data bank (SDB) has been noted.

Retrospective information plays an important role in sociology. The sociologist has to examine a large number of sources, without limiting himself to the latest publications on a problem which is interesting or is being worked on, which is characteristic of specialists concerned with the natural sciences. Moreover, in the natural sciences new important information is published primarily in articles (the conciseness and formalized nature of the language of the natural sciences make it possible to do this), in the social sciences it is published primarily in monographs. The latter circumstance imposes specific restrictions on the organization of a system of sociological information.

When creating the SDB it is necessary to ensure its interaction with the Statewide Automated System (OGAS), the Automated System for State Statistics (ASGS), the

International Information System for the Social Sciences (MISON) and other central state and information systems. The SDB is called upon to meet promptly the diverse information needs of sociologists in a direct dialogue mode. The centralized gathering and storage of data are one of the basic functions of the SDB. Centralization makes it possible to decrease substantially the expenditures on the generation of information and all types of information services; to introduce the standardization and unification of the information cycle and the types of printed publications; to increase the efficiency of service and to eliminate the redundancy of information links, which is characteristic of traditional work with information.

The centralized storage of large amounts of sociological information is conducive to the effective accomplishment of the reference information functions of the SDB and to the combination of the functions of document and fact retrieval in the entire stored array of sociological data in accordance with any forms of inquiries. The latter is a qualitative distinction as compared with conventional information retrieval systems. Moreover, highly efficient modes of service (the selective and retrospective retrieval of information) are implemented in the data bank. The use of the SDB makes it possible to eliminate the duplication and redundancy of the data being stored by means of their clear designation and representation (semantic nonredundancy), as well as by the decrease to the feasible minimum of the number of physical representations of each element of the data (physical nonredundancy).

An important function of the SDB is the integration of data, which makes it possible to meet more completely the requests of users owing to secondary analysis. The integration of the acquisition and processing of sociological data means the single input of a minimum amount of source information and its repeated use and conversion. It presumes the existence of an interconnected system of sociological indicators, which is used for the detailed description of the given phenomenon as a whole or its individual aspects. Integration appears in the interconnection of different territorial levels in the process of processing sociological data. These aspects characterize the SDB as a storage of the system of social information.

The other functions of the SDB are the updating and supplementation of the data and the control of the process of solving information, calculation and model problems.

Thus, the basic functions of the SDB are: the centralized storage and integration of sociological data; the coordination of sociological research; the information and reference support of sociologists; calculation and computation operations and modeling; the acquisition, output and correction of sociological data and their management; the interaction of the SDB with the user-sociologist in the direct dialogue mode.

The observance of the following conditions is necessary for the effective performance of the listed functions of the SDB /14-16/: the unity of the database and the minimization of the input of information; the separation of the processes, which are connected with the input, updating and storage of the input data, from the processes of the processing proper and output of information; the logical, functional and, in a number of instances, organizational delimitation of the functions being performed in the SDB. Of particular importance here are the delimitation of the description of the data and the procedural section and the formation

into a special function of the administrative control of the data; the possibility of realizing the desired set of structures of data (particularly the network and relational structure); the change of the established logical organization of the data subject to the area of use; the diversity of the data and their combination into arbitrary structures; interaction with users of different types; the comparability of the data; the efficiency, productivity and convenience of processing.

The development of a SDB is a complex and lengthy process which requires large material expenditures. When designing a data bank it is necessary to take into account the level of development of the equipment, the increase of the amounts of information and the dynamic changes of the information needs and requirements of sociologists themselves. The difficulty of creating a system is responsible for the appearance of an entire set of problems, which concern the organizational, technical, informational and mathematical aspects of the activity of scientific centers.

The Problem of the Centralization and Duplication of Sociological Information. For the efficient use of the SDB it is necessary to improve the centralization of sociological information, while avoiding the duplication of the data. As a rule, in a rayon (city, oblast) organizations belonging to different departments use the same socioeconomic data, but departmental barriers are a serious obstacle to the creation of data banks which unite users with the same information requirements according to the territorial attribute. This leads to an increase of the expenditures on the designing, creation and operation of data banks, to the impossibility for organizations not having the necessary resources to use the centralized data bank, as well as to the unprofitability of storing large arrays of data due to the limited area of their use.

In order to solve this problem it is necessary to set up territorial centers for the storage of sociological information (on the level of the oblast, republic), within the competence of which there would be the analysis of the socioeconomic information flows of the region and the organization on its basis of a centralized SDB. Medium-sized and small sociological organizations and laboratories could lease computer time and use the centralized data. Studies have shown that the leasing of computer time at a large computer center is one-fifth as expensive as the purchase of one's own computer. Moreover, the concentration of sociological information at the territorial center will facilitate the solution of socioeconomic problems in various areas of social life. In order for the sociological information of the SDB to be as accessible as possible to the user, it is necessary also to envisage an economically justified means of distributing the data. The communications systems set up in recent years with a high throughput and economical equipment (distributed data banks, computer networks) are the technical basis for this.

The Problems of Unification and Standardization. The programs, systems and packages of applied programs, which have been developed in recent years, as well as the hardware for their realization are making it possible to solve a number of problems which face sociologists. However, the software developed at one organization rarely matches up with the software of other organizations, which substantially decreases the economic impact from the introduction of new systems and creates the need for the duplication of work. The results of foreign studies show /17/ that the majority of scientific organizations independently develop their software,

while the existing packages of applied programs are capable of meeting 90 percent of their needs.

This example attests to the importance of the development of unified and standardized software, which is suitable for joint use at different scientific research institutes and computer centers. Moreover, the joint use of packages of applied programs and computers is advantageous not only from an economic point of view: it enables organizations to have a master data bank which contains unified and standardized documents, which considerably improves their information supply.

The standards are highly efficient when solving similar problems which are inevitable when working on a research project. Moreover, they make for obtained reliable information, since they ensure a uniform approach to the process of sociological research.

We propose to record the information on sociological research in the form of a catalogue of certificates of empirical sociological studies.² The possibility of reconstructing the most important methodological and procedural characteristics of the conducted study is the main demand on the certificate. The following qualitative and quantitative characteristics of the study are distinguished: a) the author; b) the theme; c) a short description of the problem and the variables; d) the directing organization; e) the place and time of the conducting of the study; f) the characteristics of the sample; g) the coordinates of the storage of the obtained results. Some of these characteristics are drawn up in the form of a specific range of value (which can be recorded either by numerical values with the corresponding units of measurement or by a set of properties which are designated by words of a natural language).

Moreover, the problem of the standardization of the indicators of the research tools and the problem of describing the relationships between these indicators, the indices and concepts of sociological science are acquiring great urgency.

The Problem of the Economy of the Exchange of Information and the Convenience of the Interaction of the Sociologist With the Computer. When creating a SDB it is important to solve the question of the exchange of information between the territorial centers of its processing and storage, as well as within the centers themselves. In the USSR, due to the geographic expanse of the territory, it is not always advisable to organize the exchange of information through telephone channels. In some instances it is economically more advantageous to transmit data from the SDB by means of physical carriers (disk packs, magnetic tapes, punch-cards and punched tapes). Experience in organizing such an exchange exists in the systems of the International Center for Scientific and Technical Information and the All-Union Institute of Scientific and Technical Information in the case of the transmission of bibliographical information. Within a single territorial center it is most effective to carry out the exchange between the SDB and the sociological subdivisions, which are included in the sphere of its activity, by means of magnetic tapes.

Due to the existence of the intensive exchange of reference and current information the interconnection between the territorial SDB's and the main SDB should be achieved via telephone channels. As an example of the efficient use of the lines

of communication between different scientific centers (within a single city and between cities) let us mention the Terminal Information Center on the Social Sciences (TITsON), which was set up by the Institute for Scientific Information on the Social Sciences of the USSR Academy of Sciences [18]. At the TITsON the retrieval of information in the database³ of the Institute for Scientific Information on the Social Sciences from the centers of scientific information on the social sciences (cities: Moscow, Vladivostok; republics: Belorussia and Estonia; countries: Bulgaria and Austria) is achieved via a conventional telephone (commutable) communications channel.

In principle it is also possible to set up a similar system of communications between the territorial and main SDB's in sociology.

The Problem of the Choice of Database Management Systems (DMS's). General-purpose DMS's are used as the software for the operation of data banks. In connection with the intensity of their use it is necessary to study carefully the questions of the adaptation of standard DMS's for operation in different subject areas, and first of all the methodology and technology of the use of these management systems. When choosing the type of DMS a number of demands made by the user and the systems environment should be taken into account.

Among the demands of the user are: 1) the assurance of interaction with the SDB in a specific language (as a rule, interaction is achieved by means of programs which are written in an algorithmic language like COBOL or FORTRAN); 2) the realization of the desired set of functions (retrieval, generation, modification, reconstruction; protection against unauthorized access); 3) the possibility of hooking in remote terminals and working in a specific mode (package, dialogue, with time sharing); 4) the assurance of operation with specific classes of structures of data (trees, networks, relations); 5) the conformity of the sizes of the information arrays of the users to the capacities of the SDB. As a rule, it is necessary for there to be no restrictions on the size of the information arrays. Access to individual elements of the data at a quite great depth of indexation and the presence in the database of arrays of different generations are also required.

Among the demands of the systems environment are: 1) the conformity of the programs of the SDB to the software system; 2) the conformity of the programs to the set of hardware.

Since any of the chosen DMS's needs adaptation (that is, the development of additional programs, which help to "synchronize" the data bank for the better meeting of the needs of sociologists), basic attention should be devoted to the questions of the economy and reliability of its operation.⁴ The ability to modify the language (or program) components of the data bank, for example, the replacement of magnetic tapes with magnetic disks, the change of the format of the data, is especially important.

In the process of designing the SDB the assurance of its stable operation under the conditions of a change of the amounts of data, the tasks of the users and the hardware is an important task. An internal structure of the SDB, which corresponds to the different levels of its description, is formed for this purpose. The logical and physical level of the description of the databases and accordingly the physical and logical independence of the latter are especially singled out.

The structures of the data, the diagram of their bases, the descriptions of the operations on them (the handling of the data), the structures of the data in the notion of the users and the reflection of these notions in the structure of the databases and so on are cited at the logical level of the description of the databases. The logical modeling of the databases is a means of description.

There are three basic models of the description of the data: the hierarchical, the network and the relational [16]. On the basis of the properties of the sociological information being stored (its unformalized nature, dynamicness, the presence of qualitative attributes), the nature of the information problems being worked on by sociologists (the planning and forecasting of social processes, which involves the processing of large arrays of quantitative and qualitative data), the diversity of the inquiries of sociologists in a natural language, as well as the above-formulated demands on the interaction of sociologists with the computer, it is possible to assume that the organization of empirical sociological data in the form of a relational model will be the most effective. These models envisage the natural language of the user, in our case the sociologist, as the language of interaction with the data bank, have great flexibility in the formulation of the inquiries and make it possible to take into account more completely, in contrast to the hierarchical or network model, the specific nature of sociological information. Unfortunately, at present there are no systems (except for a few experimental versions) which could operate on the basis of such a model; therefore, hierarchical and network models are being used in the developed standard systems. We see a way out of the formed situation in the organization of the structure of the data bank with the use of already existing developments (like the OKA, the Economic Information System, the BANK Operating System and others) as the source components.

Organizational and Legal Problems of the SDB. Organizational and legal problems, which stem from the separation of the process of the generation of sociological information from the process of its use, arise when creating the data bank. The appearance in sociology of a specific organizational and technical base (computers, computer centers, a data bank) for the information service of scientists led to a certain typification, unification and formalization of the operations with the information and in the end to the development of information relations into an independent type. In the automated information systems the questions of the recording and gathering of information, its transmission, storage and processing are acquiring particular importance and require legal regulation. The appropriate enforceable enactments already exist [19, 20, 21]. Among the documents which regulate the interrelations of the SDB with users it is possible to name the following ones: 1) the statute on the rights and duties of the administration of the SDB on the processing and analysis of incoming information; 2) the statute on the protection of the copyrights of the researchers (scientific collectives), who send information to the SDB; on the rights and duties of the users; 3) the statute on the expert appraisal of the data coming to the SDB; 4) a list of documents and materials: a) which should be sent to the SDB by the researchers (scientific collectives) collaborating with it, b) which can be issued to the users of the SDB; 5) the statute on the expert appraisal of the materials coming to the SDB; 6) the statute on the interaction of the SDB with other automated information systems.

The organizational and legal operating conditions of the SDB are set forth in documents which note its main parameters. Thus, the demands on the organization

of the data (the composition and characteristics of the information being stored, the procedure of its storage and the making of changes in the information array and so on) are established by the instructions on the organization of the data array. The activity of the personnel of the SDB is regulated by the job instructions, which specify the content and procedure of official duties, the sequence of specific operations and so on.

The questions of the conditions of the acceptance of information, the protection of the copyrights of researchers, the elaboration of the conditions of its accessibility and so forth are important. Since sociological research is a version of scientific research, the relations of authors with the SDB should conform to the generally accepted legal norms.

The adoption of modern automated systems in the practice of the information service of sociologists, undoubtedly, will be conducive to the successful solution of the problems facing them.

FOOTNOTES

1. The amount of sociological information is steadily increasing from year to year. We have calculated that during the period from 1973 to 1979 the number of publications on sociology in the Soviet press increased 3.1-fold. It can be said that in the USSR in 1979 a 250-page book, which contains domestic publications on sociology, appeared each day. There are about 850 journals on sociological themes in the world.
2. At the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences a certificate of the sociological study, which contains about 50 most important mathematical characteristics (the developers are V. G. Andreyenkov and O. M. Maslova), has been elaborated and is used when gathering empirical data of research projects.
3. A database is a set of the data which reflect the properties of the objects being study, which have been specially organized and logically connected; it consists of the data themselves and their descriptions.
4. Economy is the cost of the input and storage of the data, the cost of a response to an inquiry and so on. The reliability of the operation of the DMS ensures the normal operation of the system over the desired time, as well as the constancy of the data and the protection of their secrecy.

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FRAGMENTS OF FUTURE BOOKS

BOURGEOIS SOCIOLOGY ABOUT MAN AND HIS BEHAVIOR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 147-153

/Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor Anatoliy Alekseyevich Zvorykin, honored figure of science and technology of the RSFSR, chief of the Sector of the Sociology of Science of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Bourgeois Sociology About Man and His Behavior (On the Question of the Evolution of Theoretical Approaches)"

/Not translated by JPRS

CRITICISM OF CONTEMPORARY BOURGEOIS SOCIOLOGY

PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE, SOCIAL MOBILITY IN FRG SOCIOLOGY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 154-165

/Article by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Mikhail Nikolayevich Rutkevich, chief of the Chair of Marxism-Leninism of the Academy of the National Economy attached to the USSR Council of Ministers, and Sergey Grigor'yevich Fanenko, junior research associate of the Academy of the National Economy attached to the USSR Council of Ministers: "Problems of Social Structure and Social Mobility in FRG Sociology"

/Not translated by JPRS

BEHAVIORAL SOCIOLOGY IN THE FRG

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 165-173

/Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Docent Rimma Pavlovna Shpakova, deputy chief of the Chair of Contemporary Foreign Philosophy and Sociology of Leningrad State University: "Behavioral Sociology in the FRG"

/Not translated by JPRS

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SCIENTIFIC LIFE

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF SOVIET SOCIETY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 174-177

/Article by Ye. D. Igitkhanyan and A. V. Kirkh: "Urgent Problems of the Development of the Social Structure of Soviet Society"/

/Text/ The All-Union Scientific Conference "The Development of the Social Structure of Soviet Society"--the fourth one on these problems--was held in Tallinn on 21-23 October 1981. It was organized by the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Institute of History of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences, the Soviet Sociological Association and the All-Union Znaniye Society. The main goal of this meeting of scientists was to discuss the urgent methodological problems of the study of the social structure of mature socialist society in light of the results of the 26th CPSU Congress and to analyze and generalize the results of the sociological studies which had been conducted during the time which had passed since the preceding conference (Zvenigorod, 1976). The high level of the sociological studies conducted in recent years in Soviet Estonia also determined the place of the holding of the conference.

Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences T. V. Ryabushkin, chairman of the organizing committee, opened the plenary meeting with a brief introductory speech. Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia R. E. Ristlaan delivered the report "The Development of the Social Structure of the Estonian SSR and the Supervising Activity of the Communist Party of Estonia." Then reports were delivered by: Doctor of Historical Sciences L. A. Gordon (jointly with Doctor of Historical Sciences E. V. Klopov), Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. V. Kolbanovskiy (jointly with Doctor of Philosophical Sciences G. V. Osipov), Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. I. Staroverov, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences M. Kh. Titma, Doctor of Historical Sciences Yu. V. Arutyunyan, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences F. R. Filippov, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences G. A. Slesarev (jointly with T. V. Ryabushkin), Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Yu. Ye. Volkov, Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Ye. Poletayev (jointly with Candidate of Historical Sciences I. L. Kornakovskiy), Doctor of Historical Sciences O. I. Shkaratan and Doctor of Philosophical Sciences N. A. Aitov. The reports of Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences M. N. Rutkevich and Doctors of Philosophical Sciences V. S. Semenov and L. N. Kogan were also presented to the plenary meeting.

A wide range of questions, which can be grouped in several "blocks," were discussed at the meetings of the seven sections and nine round tables.¹

Methodological Problems of the Formation of the Classless Social Structure of Mature Socialist Society. Among the most significant social goals the 26th CPSU Congress named the convergence of all classes and social groups. The conclusion about the formation of a classless structure within the historical framework of mature socialism, which was formulated for the first time, raised for sociologists a large number of theoretical and practical problems. One of them is the determination of the features of the present approach to the study of the state and dynamics of the social structure of socialist society. The solution of this problem is being accomplished by means of a multivariate analysis, which includes various sections: the class division, the socioterritorial (settlement) division, the sociodemographic division, the socio-occupational division and so on (Doctor of Philosophical Sciences F. R. Filippov, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences A. I. Sukharev).

At the same time, when studying the social structure from the point of view of the indicated basic types of the social differentiation of society, it must not be forgotten that it is an integral fundamental unity, a system of ties and relations, which has integrative features which are characteristic of all social categories. The stage of mature socialism is characterized by the dynamism of the development of social relations and the acceleration of the process of overcoming the extant social differences on the basis of changes in the nature of labor, the increase of the cultural and technical level and well-being of all groups and strata of workers (Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences M. N. Rutkevich).

The formation of a classless society on the whole does not mean that all social differences are completely eliminated within the framework of mature socialism: it is a question of a specific historical stage on the way to complete social homogeneity.

An important role for the planning and forecasting of the social development of Soviet society is played by the methods of determining the social class status of its members. What is meant is the elaboration of such a unified comprehensive system of indicators of intraclass and interclass differences, which would reveal the objective social position of a person (Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. S. Semenov).

The complexity and topicality of the problems being studied dictate the need to specify and improve the conceptual apparatus. Doctor of Philosophical Sciences A. I. Sukharev raised the question of revealing the essence of the category "communist social homogeneity" and its interrelationship with "social equality." It was emphasized once again that the social homogeneity and equality of the members of society by no means imply the leveling of social class differences and, hence, the withering away of the social class structure presumes the functioning and development of other types of structures (sectorial, occupational and so on). Communism is not a structureless society, but the organization of social life, in which all

1. The heads of the reports and speeches at the plenary meeting and in the sections of the conference have been published.

the social units will be united and cross-linked in specific forms of social production (Doctor of Philosophical Sciences N. A. Aitov, Doctor of Historical Sciences O. I. Shkaratan).

The discussion of general methodological questions revealed the urgent need for the study of the features of the social development of labor collectives, including multinational collectives (Doctor of Philosophical Sciences N. N. Bokarev, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences M. S. Dzhunusov and others).

At the conference there was also a discussion of some contradictions in the social class differentiation of society, which are connected, in particular, with the development of the private plot. Doctor of Economic Sciences P. V. Savchenko noted that the latter should be subordinate to the interests of socialist society.

Social Development of the Working Class, the Convergence of Workers of Mental and Physical Labor. The study of this problem includes the analysis not only of the quantitative and qualitative characteristics of the fundamental development of the working class, but also of the mechanism of the performance by it of the leading role in society, the influence on the formation of the classless social structure. The most important features of the change of the nature of the development of the working class were noted in the reports of Doctors of Historical Sciences L. A. Gordon and E. V. Klopov, as well as of the authors' collective of participants in the all-union study "The Indicators of the Social Development of Soviet Society."

First of all this concerns the content and conditions of labor, vocational training. Vocational and technical education has become widespread--during 1976-1980 the graduates of vocational and technical schools made up about two-thirds of the total number of workers who entered production. The increase of the educational and occupational skills level is closely connected with the increase of the socio-political and labor activeness and the overall culture of the workers. Precisely with respect to these indicators the working class is drawing closer and closer to other social groups, first of all the production engineering intelligentsia. According to the data of L. A. Gordon and E. V. Klopov, no less than 4-5 million workers perform a job which requires a specialized education; at the same time the proportion of the intelligentsia employed in the sphere of physical production is also increasing, which in turn is conducive to the convergence of the indicated social groups.

In the progressive development of the working class there are also some negative features, contradictions, the resolution of which is being ensured by the scientifically sound social policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. In analyzing these contradictions, Doctor of Historical Sciences R. N. Pullat, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Yu. L. Neymer, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. V. Kolbavskiy and others stressed that on the most general level they reflect the unevenness of the development of the different strata and detachments of the working class. The quite significant intraclass differentiation of workers is now still making itself felt. According to the data of an all-union study, for example, the expenditures of mental labor for workers of high skill are half as great as for specialists, for workers of intermediate skill--one-third to one-fourth as great, for workers of low skill--one-sixth to one-seventh as great. The speakers also directed attention to the nonoptimal proportions of labor of low, high and intermediate skill (respectively 35 and 65 percent of all workers). The decrease of the former indicator in the 1970's occurred slowly.

The question of the need for the more persistent elaboration of a number of directions of basic and applied research was raised in the speeches. This concerns, in particular, the increasing cultural and social potential of the working class, the intelligentsia and the peasantry, their sociopolitical and labor activeness; the optimization of the socio-occupational structure of the population.

The Improvement of the Social Structure of the Rural Population, the Convergence of the City and the Countryside. The sociological study of this set of problems during the past decade has been characterized by the in-depth analysis of the content of the category "the countryside" as a specific socioterritorial integrity and the trend of the development of the social class structure of the rural population at the stage of mature socialism. Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. I. Staroverov, Doctor of Geographical Sciences B. S. Khorev, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences G. M. Grinberg and Candidate of Economic Sciences Ye. B. Mostovaya related that the studies conducted in the late 1970's revealed substantial changes in the composition of rural inhabitants, changes in the interclass and intraclass relations, the formation of borderline social class strata: worker-intellectuals, peasant-intellectuals, worker-peasants. The questions connected with the private plot (Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. I. Staroverov, Doctor of Economic Sciences P. V. Savchenko) and the regional differences of the overall process of the improvement of the social structure of the rural population (Candidates of Philosophical Sciences E. E. Rannik and V. S. Shchedrin) aroused great interest.

Socioterritorial Differences and Their Overcoming. As was noted in the statements of Doctor of Historical Sciences Yu. V. Arutyunyan, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences N. A. Aitov and Doctor of Philosophical Sciences M. S. Dzhunusov, socioterritorial differences do not exist in isolation of the entire system of social differences under socialism; at the same time the uniqueness of geographic and climatic conditions and historical, economic and national features take on a different aspect in any region. As a result of the interaction of all these factors (along with a subjective factor--the quality of management) differences in the level of labor productivity, education and the social structural parameters of the population of one region or another of the country also arise. The measurement of the social structure of the region and the elaboration of a system of comprehensive empirical indicators (Doctor of Historical Sciences O. I. Shkaratan, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences N. A. Aitov, G. V. Kanygin) are acquiring great importance in this connection. The gradual equalization of the social living conditions of the population of different regions of the country is an important political and national economic task, the accomplishment of which requires the enhancement of the role of the regional planning and control of society.

The Development of Sociodemographic Processes. The close interdependence of the demographic and social class aspects of the development of socialist society is the main methodological premise of the study of the content and dynamics of demographic processes, which are characterized by complexity and considerable differentiation by regions and republics of the country, in urban and rural areas. Such a differentiation results not only from the economic and geographic status of regions, but also from the influence of social factors.

The increase of the social homogeneity of Soviet society is inseparably connected with the social processes occurring in the family. According to the data of

sociological studies conducted by Ukrainian scientists in 1978-1980, a gradual convergence of different social groups is being observed in this area. Thus, the level of the social heterogeneity in the families of workers, employees and specialists is respectively 38.7, 31.3 and 29.7 percent (Candidate of Historical Sciences A. P. Ponomarev).

Social Shifts and the System of Education. The questions of social shifts occupy a special place in the set of problems concerning the dynamics of the social class structure of society. The main directions of the shifts, their channels, causes and consequences were the subject of the discussion. The study of the interaction of social shifts and the system of education--the most important factor of the involvement of the young generation in social life and, hence, in the social structure of society--merits great attention. As a result of the changeover in the USSR to a universal secondary education the social integrating role of the secondary school has been enhanced, the mobility of all groups of young people both in the city and in the country has increased, the social base of the formation of the new generations of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia was broadened. The data of the all-union studies conducted at the higher educational centers of six regions of the country attest: approximately half of the detachments of the intelligentsia, which were formed by the late 1970's, are the children of workers and peasants, although as a whole the social composition of the student body differs from the social composition of the population. In this connection the importance of the qualitative indicators of the social effectiveness of the system of education is increasing, the need for the improvement of vocational guidance work among young people is becoming obvious (Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Z. T. Golenkova, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences A. A. Matulenis, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences F. R. Filippov, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Yu. P. Petrov).

The study of intragenerational mobility is of considerable interest. Studies conducted by Estonian scientists (the conference participants had an opportunity to familiarize themselves with the method and basic results) show that its intensity among the representatives of the main social strata of the population is different and the stabilization of their social status occurs at different times (M. Kh. Titma, R. K. Veerman).

Young People as a Social Group. The 26th CPSU Congress emphasized the need for the thorough consideration of the peculiarities and interests of each group of our society. Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Yu. Ye. Volkov directed attention to precisely such a methodological approach to the analysis of the problems of young people. The new generations, which reproduce the basic social structural elements of society, to a significant extent influence the development of the social structure. This requires the functioning of an effective system of vocational guidance and labor education and the formation of an adequate reflection of social needs in the consciousness of young people.

According to the data of the comparative historical sociological studies of 1936 and 1972 (Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Ye. Poletayev and Candidate of Historical Sciences I. L. Kornakovskiy), the proportion of young workers engaged in unskilled labor decreased during this period by a factor of 4.2. As a whole the improvement of the mechanism of involving young people in socially useful labor in

many ways depends on basic interdependent processes: educational and labor advancement (Doctor of Philosophical Sciences N. M. Blinov, Candidate of Psychological Sciences R. A. Ponomareva). A very important aspect of the sociological study of modern young people as an essential element of the social structure of society is the social makeup of the young generation. Candidate of Philosophical Sciences I. N. Ryndya and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences A. I. Yefimova noted this. At the same time the peculiarities of scientific and technical progress are facing society with problems which are connected with the dominant orientation of young people toward highly meaningful, creative labor. But since the need for the use of unskilled labor remains, it makes sense to make certain adjustments in organizational and educational work, first of all with school children.

The discussion at the All-Union Scientific Conference of the most important directions of the improvement of the social structure of mature socialism, which were specified by the 26th CPSU Congress, is a notable milestone in the direction of the further development of scientific research.

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SOCIOECONOMIC EXPERIMENTATION IN THE SYSTEM OF MANAGEMENT ACTIVITY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 177-178

/Article by A. M. Khitrov: "Socioeconomic Experimentation in the System of Management Activity"/

/Text/ The All-Union Applied Science Conference "Problems of Management Innovations and Economic Experimentation," which was held in Tallinn on 15-17 September 1981, was devoted to urgent theoretical, methodological and practical problems of the improvement of economic organizing and management activity and of socioeconomic experimentation, to questions of the use of social factors in scientific and technical policy and to the forecasting of its social consequences. The conference was held on the initiative of USSR Gosplan and the Estonian SSR Gosplan, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the All-Union Council of Scientific and Technical Societies, the Soviet Sociological Association and the Estonian Republic Council of Scientific and Technical Societies.

Deputy Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, Academician D. M. Gvishiani opened the plenary meeting. The effectiveness of management innovations and economic experiments, the speaker noted, in many ways depends on the centralization of planning and the monitoring of their conducting, the elaboration and adoption of legal norms, which regulate this activity, criteria of the evaluation of the effectiveness of measures, as well as on the improvement of the forms and methods of the stimulation of the initiators of and participants in the experiments. However, so far in the statewide plans the scientific research in this area in practice is not being coordinated, there is no uniform system of the dissemination of advanced know-how of socialist management.

Chairman of the Estonian SSR Gosplan G. A. Tynspoyeg dwelled on urgent questions of the organization and planning of experiments within the union republic as a separate economic region. He proposed to set up a permanent organ, the duties of which would include the forecasting of the national economy of the union republic and the determination of the possibilities and means of the experimental solution of arising problems. The systematic training and improvement of the skills of the personnel engaged in the implementation of management innovations and economic experiments play an important role in this connection.

The improvement of the organizational methods and forms of the adoption of economic innovations requires, first, certain changes in the structure of management (in particular, the delegation of the duties connected with the conducting of the

experiment among all the members of the management staff) and, second, the coordination of the new, "experimental" production indicators with the traditional indicators (Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor S. Ye. Kamenitser, Moscow). Relying on economic practice, the speaker showed that only the appropriate change of the organizational structures will make it possible to envisage and implement fundamentally new management innovations.

An original approach to the increase of the effectiveness of experimental activity was contained in the statement of Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor N. I. Lapin (Moscow). He proposed to distinguish single-variant and multivariant experiments. The methods of developing and implementing innovations should be based on the "synchronization" of the multivariant experiments, for the purpose of the simultaneous checking of the different means of solving one or several problems. The question of shortening the period of the conducting of social and economic experiments (at present it is usually 3-5 years) is acquiring great importance in this connection. The comparison of the results of the different variants of experiments, the dissemination and use of advanced know-how in the sphere of management in many ways depend on the solution of the problem.

An indispensable condition of the development of the theory of the experiment and the improvement of the practice of management is the generalization and analysis of the experience of economic innovations. In his statement First Secretary of the Dnepropetrovskaya Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine A. A. Mironenko told about the comprehensive system of product quality control and the efficient use of resources at enterprises of the oblast.

During the conference procedural materials on the improvement of the management of the national economy were prepared on the basis of the generalization of the experience of management innovations and economic experiments. In particular, it was recognized as expedient to create a uniform system of the planning and implementation of innovations and economic experiments and the gathering of the information necessary for this. The assignments concerning the adoption of the most effective management innovations should be included in the State Plan of USSR Economic and Social Development (in the section of the planning of measures on the improvement of management).

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SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 179-180

/Article by G. V. Badeyeva: "Social Problems of the Improvement of the Economic Mechanism"/

/Text/ The increase of the organizational level and smoothness of the work of all the links of the national economy is among the most important socioeconomic tasks set by the 26th CPSU Congress. The All-Union Applied Science Conference "Urgent Problems of the Improvement of the Economic Mechanism at the Present Stage of the Development of the Socialist Economy" (April 1981), in which party and economic executives, economists, sociologists, social psychologists and management specialists participated, demonstrated the great interest in the social aspects of the problem and the need for the extensive involvement of sociologists in its solution.

The consistent orientation of party economic policy toward the accomplishment of social tasks was responsible for the main directions of the reorganization of the economic mechanism: the assurance of the complete balance of the economy, the increase of the role and importance of the entire system of plan indicators, the extensive introduction of cost accounting stimulation. In his speech at the November (1981) CPSU Central Committee Plenum L. I. Brezhnev said about the vital importance of these problems: "The increasing interdependence of economic and social progress, which is characteristic of mature socialist society, determines the leading place in our plans of the /social program/ /in boldface/."¹

The main reports of the conference, which Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences M. N. Rutkevich, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences N. A. Aitov, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. I. Staroverov and others delivered, were devoted to the questions of the correlation of economic and social factors and the increasing orientation of planning toward the achievement of social goals. The speakers correctly emphasized that in planning social problems cannot be viewed in isolation of economic problems. The interpretation of social relations as the most important elements of the set of all public relationships is the methodological basis of the unified plan of the development of our country under the conditions of mature socialism.

1. PRAVDA, 17 November 1981.

The central task of the present stage of the improvement of the economic mechanism is the increase of the level of planning work and the enrichment of the theory and methodology of national economic planning. While noting the extensive dissemination of plans of the social development of labor collectives, the conference participants at the same time directed attention to the fact that they are not always sufficiently effective and frequently are not coordinated with the technical, industrial and financial plans. The social reserves of the collective at times remain unused, since the plan of social development does not receive the necessary material support and is not backed by economic calculations. Often all the efforts are spent on the compiling of the plan, while the monitoring of its implementation and material supply remain outside the purview of the administration of the enterprise. Competent services are not everywhere dealing with such plans, and the managers of the collective do not usually bear strict responsibility for the non-fulfillment of social programs, as happens in the case of the frustration of the technical, industrial and financial plan. The overcoming of the formalism and pretentiousness of the plans of social development is a necessary condition of the precise functioning of the economic mechanism. The drafting of new standard documents and serious improvement of the methods of comprehensive planning are needed. Such is the point of view of the majority of speakers.

The role of the plan of social development as a tool of the regulation of social relations is increasing more and more on the level of the city, the rayon and the oblast. Social planning has here a large number of aspects, one of which, having become the most topical today, merits especially close attention, including that of sociologists. It is a question of the planning of the territories bordering on the city and the countryside. The emergence of large agro-industrial complexes is causing the diffusion of the urban and rural structures of the population, the style of life and so forth. This is complicating the compiling and implementation of plans.

The successful management of the economic mechanism is inconceivable without sectorial planning. Of course, the need for economic sectorial plans is an indisputable fact. But does the sector of the national economy need social planning? And, in general, is it possible? The question is by no means rhetorical. The enterprises of a sector are situated, as a rule, on a vast territory, often in different climatic zones and national regions. They are under the jurisdiction of many union and republic ministries, to say nothing of the management organizations of cities, rayons, oblasts and krays.

The speakers at the conference noted that in some sectors sociological services exist, some experience in the study of social problems and social planning has been gained. Methods of the social planning of a sector also exist. However, so far they are still imperfect, since they do not take into account the peculiarities of the development of individual enterprises and regions. In any case one thing is clear--the requirement of balancing, coordination and interconnection fully applies to the plans of not only labor collectives and regions, but also sectors.

Under the conditions of the intensification of production the efficient fulfillment of the plan assignments depends more and more on the full utilization of the abilities of every worker and the nature of the interrelations in the collectives. The statements of economic managers made it possible to identify the most urgent practical problems in this area: the search for social factors of the increase of

labor efficiency, the social and sociopsychological mechanisms of the stability of the collective, the obtaining of reliable sociological information on all aspects of its vital activity.

The creation of the conditions for the comprehensive revelation of the abilities of a worker is a difficult matter not only owing to the existence of difficult physical, monotonous labor and the shortcomings of material and technical supply and the system of economic stimulation. The accurate consideration of the potentials of the worker and the optimum distribution of production functions among the members of the collective are also of great importance here. In other words, the efficient and considered organization of the labor of each person, beginning with his first day in the collective, is needed.

The improvement of planning and the entire content of management activity inevitably requires the increase of its scientific level and the responsibility of the manager for the choice of one version of actions or another. Under these conditions the conducting of sociological studies is an urgent necessity. Sociological information covers, as a rule, a wide range of problems and reveals the complex interrelations between social and economic factors, the motives, sentiments and interests of people. However, there are frequent instances when the obtained results can in no way be used in management practice and in the increase of the level of the management of social processes. At times officials limit themselves merely to the statement of a fact or phenomenon, without analyzing the causes and conditions of its occurrence. The inadequately extensive use of sociological information is connected not only with its underestimation on the part of managers, but also with the imperfection of the forms in which it is received. Frequently the received information is incomplete, is of a fragmentary nature and does not cover the subject in all its interconnections.

The use of computers for the systematization and long-term storage of sociological data is promising, but this is possible only in well-equipped sociological subdivisions, which for the present do not exist everywhere. V. S. Levin, chief of the Sociological Department of the Volga Motor Vehicle Plant, told about experience of this type.²

The conference participants also discussed the problems of the interrelationship of the occupational division of labor and the overcoming of social differences, the sociopsychological aspects of the stimulation and motivation of labor and a number of other questions.

The 26th party congress and the November (1981) CPSU Central Committee Plenum outlined specific means of improving the economic mechanism and the system of management of the economy. The duty of sociologists is to make a significant contribution to the solution of this most important problem.

2. Let us note: in itself the availability of high quality social information still does not lead to the optimization of management activity. Practical experience shows that the intervention of sociology in the sphere of human relations and sentiments requires particular tact. The aspiration to substantiate a decision only on the basis of the "logic" of a computer can entail adverse consequences. The engineering approach is contraindicated here.

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SCIENTIFIC AND ORGANIZATIONAL WORK IN THE RESEARCH COLLECTIVE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 181-182

/Article by A. N. Vlasova and A. Ye. Kozlov: "Scientific and Organizational Work in the Research Collective"/

/Text/ What steps should be taken to reveal completely as possible the creative potentials of the research collective? This was recently discussed at a meeting of the bureau of the Department of Philosophy and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences V. A. Kudryavtsev, its director, delivered the report "The Further Improvement of Scientific and Organizational Work at the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences." The administration, the party and other public organizations of the institute are trying to solve in combination scientific and social problems. And, as practice has shown, the purposeful implementation of the plan of the social development of the collective of the institute is the basis of success of research activity.

The ascertainment of the opinion of the staff members concerning what themes they consider most urgent, how to increase the practical value of research and what forms and methods of the organization of the activity of the collective should be developed and improved preceded the drafting of the mentioned plan. The plan of social development solves three interconnected groups of problems: scientific production problems, the development of the sociopolitical activeness of the individual and problems of daily life. Measures on the increase of the efficiency of research activity, the improvement of the selection and placement of personnel, the further increase of their skills, the organization of relations of the institute with foreign scientific centers and the improvement of the work of auxiliary services were included in the first block; the measures aimed at the development of socialist competition, the improvement of the work of public organizations and ideological educational activity were included in the second block; the measures connected with the creation of favorable conditions for the labor and relaxation of staff members were included in the third block.

Structurally the plan consists of six sections. The most important one among them is "The Increase of the Efficiency of Scientific Production Work." Here the main attention is devoted to scientific research activity, the coordination of the efforts of the collective of the institute with the work of republic academic institutions, universities and law enforcement agencies. The criteria of the evaluation of the labor of staff members are specified here.

The tasks facing the Institute of State and Law require the systematic study of legal practice. The plan of social development calls for permanent contacts with the local soviets of people's deputies, ministries and departments for the purpose of the preparation for them of practical scientific recommendations, the probationary work of scientists and the organization of research.

The following are recognized as the main indicators of the successful work of the scientific subdivision and each staff member: the extent of the study of the theme, the ideological and theoretical level, the novelty of the conclusions, the effectiveness of the methods of the study, the extent of the adoption of the recommendations in practice. All this made it possible, in particular, to eliminate the depersonalization of the contribution of individual scientists to the collective scientific product. The elaboration of criteria of the evaluation of the quality and productivity of the labor of the research associates is also being carried out at the institute. The separate consideration of scientific works proper, applied scientific and other types of works has been set up. The unit of measurement is the conventional printer's sheet. The organization and conducting of empirical research and the elaboration of research programs are evaluated in conventional printer's sheets and subject to the expenditures of time. Applied scientific works (report notes, drafts of enforceable enactments), as a rule, are taken into account in conventional printer's sheets in triple the amount.

One of the main directions of scientific and organizational activity is the creation of favorable opportunities for the promotion of talented and conscientious workers. For this purpose strictly mandatory requirements on the promotion of junior research associates to senior research associates have been specified at the institute.

Great importance is also being attached to the measures on the improvement of the auxiliary scientific subdivisions. In particular, a scientific information service has been set up, which provides the staff members with information on the problems of their activity.

A number of standard documents (a statute on the sector, on the consideration of the work performed by research associates and so on) have been drawn up and adopted in conformity with the plan of the social development of the collective of the institute. This has made it possible to regulate and distribute uniformly the official workload between sectors and staff members. A noteworthy innovation is the instructions on the procedure of discussing and preparing for publication the manuscripts of planned scientific works. All the stages of the advancement of a manuscript are precisely regulated by this document.

The implementation of the above-indicated organizational measures made it possible to utilize more effectively the scientific potential of the collective of the institute and to identify the untapped reserves.

Academician A. G. Yegorov, Corresponding Members of the USSR Academy of Sciences M. N. Rutkevich and M. S. Strogovich and Doctor of Philosophical Sciences B. S. Ukraintsev took part in the discussion of the report. The bureau approved of the scientific and organizational activity of the institute and recommended the dissemination of its work experience at other institutes subordinate to the Department of Philosophy and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

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CONFERENCES ON METHODOLOGY, METHODS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 182-185

/Article G. I. Saganenko: "The Discussion of Questions of Methodology and Methods"/

/Not translated by JPRS/

NEWS ITEMS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 185-187

/Not translated by JPRS/

REFLECTIONS ON A NEW BOOK

CONTINUITY OF SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT IN MARXIST-LENINIST SOCIOLOGY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 188-196

/Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Vladimir Ivanovich Staroverov, chief of the Sector of Social Development of the Countryside of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The Continuity of Scientific Thought Is the Most Important Condition of the Development of Marxist-Leninist Sociology"/

/Not translated by JPRS/

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QUANTITATIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF MARRIAGE STABILITY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 197-203

/Article by Vladimir Mikhaylovich Kishinets, graduate student of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Quantitative Characteristics of Marriage Stability"7

/Text7 The strengthening of the family as the most important unit of socialist society was grouped by the 26th CPSU Congress with the urgent social problems /17.

The contradiction between the steadily improving material living conditions of the Soviet people and the increase of their educational and cultural level, on the one hand, and the increase of the number of divorces and the rise in the number of "conflictive" marriages, on the other, suggests that the instability of family and marital relations is connected first of all with the nonconformity of the subjective aims of the population in this area to the requirements of the present stage of the development of our society. The sociological problem of studying the aims of the population in the sphere of family relations cannot be solved, in our opinion, without the elaboration of a methodology and specific methods of determining the levels of marriage stability. In this connection the publication of the monograph of V. A. Sysenko, "Ustoychivost' braka" /Marriage Stability7 /47, seems very opportune. In it the author traces the history of the development of marital and family relations, states quite comprehensively the theory of conflict, which he has developed, cites a typology of family conflicts, analyzes the problems facing the family service, examines a set of measures aimed at the stabilization of marriage and so on. While expressing a high opinion of the work of Sysenko as a whole, let us attempt to dwell in greater detail on some ideas of the author, which concern the conceptual apparatus and procedural questions of the measurement of the degree of marriage stability and the satisfaction of married couples with it.

The division, which was made by the author probably for the first time, of the concepts of the "stability" /ustoychivost'7 of a marriage, which he regards as "the stability of the system of interaction between the married couple" (p 7), and the "stabliness" /stabil'nost'7 of a marriage attracts attention. The terms "unstable marriage," "unstable family," "the stableness of a marriage" and so on are frequently encountered in special literature, but it is not always clear what is implied by them. This circumstance has already been noted by researchers /37.

At first glance it may seem that an intuitive understanding of the meaning of the indicated terms is quite sufficient for the successful use of them during the sociological study of the problem. However, the ambiguity of the underlying concept "stableness" dictates the need for the corresponding terminology to acquire the greatest possible semantic definiteness. Indeed, the term "stableness," which is used extensively in various areas of theoretical knowledge and practical activity, characterizes, on the one hand, a property of physical and abstract objects (systems) and, on the other, features of the occurrence of processes and has, therefore, two different, although interconnected semantic meanings. In the former case "stableness" is identical to "stability," "strength," that is, to concepts which characterize the object at a specific moment of time, in the latter case it is an element of the semantic series "invariability," "the maintenance of an invariable state in time," in other words, it indicates a feature of a permanent process /4; 5/.

Since in the sociological context "marriage" means both an object (the system of interrelations of the married couple) and a time process (married life together), the lack of the corresponding specifications in each specific use of the mentioned word combinations frequently complicates the interpretation of the latter. This, of course, decreases the scientific value of research materials and in the case of an incorrect interpretation can lead to errors during the reanalysis of the factual data presented in them. In order to avoid such a situation, it is expedient to use along with "the stableness of a marriage" (a time process) the term "the stability of a marriage" (a description of its state at one moment or another).

The author of the monograph quite correctly believes that the satisfaction of a married couple with marriage is governed not only by the personality characteristics of the marriage partner, but also by external circumstances (pp 7, 8). Precisely for this reason stability should be analyzed, in our opinion, not simply in the context of the interrelations of the spouses with each other, but in the system "spouse--marital situation," the second element of which includes, along with the personality traits of the partner, the economic and everyday aspects and the kinship and social environment. The same marriage, therefore, can be perceived differently by the husband and the wife. The existence for a single marriage of two different systems, which determine its stability (the husband--the marital situation of the husband, the wife--the marital situation of the wife), requires the study not of the stability of the marriage in general, but of the stability of the marriage for each spouse. Precisely for this reason it is necessary, as the author of the monograph does, to examine the satisfaction with the marriage of the wife and the husband separately.

It should be noted that the characterization of the state of marital relations at a given moment (the stability of the marriage) cannot serve with absolute precision as a gauge of the future state of the marriage. (The preservation in the future of a weakly stable family and the breakdown--in the case of the appearance of quite strong negative influences--of a relatively stronger family, for example, are highly probably.) The forecast of the probable outcome of the marriage and the determination of its stableness are necessary for such an appraisal.

Like any prognostic characterization, the appraisal of the stableness of a marriage, of course, is only probabilistic. For example, by calling some marriage

highly stable, we are thereby expressing confidence that over a specific period of time its stability will be great, while the destabilizing factors will be weak. The forecasting of the latter is a very complicated problem, since the researcher comes across here two categories of influences. It is possible to foresee the consequences of some only in part, while the end result of others is in principle unpredictable. Grouped with the former are the events connected with the "natural" flow and development of family life: the birth of children (and the material, daily and other difficulties resulting from this), the discontinuation of assistance on the part of the older generation, changes in the interpersonal relations between the spouses and so on; grouped with the latter are all kinds of unforeseen circumstances, for example, the change of the place of residence, sudden disablement, serious illnesses. Without dwelling in detail on the questions of the determination of stableness, let us merely emphasize that the forecasting of the outcome of marital relations is a much more difficult task than the appraisal of the level of stability of a marriage.

Let us examine the specific methods of determining the indicators of the satisfaction with marriage and its stability, which are cited in Sysenko's monograph. In itself the raising of the question of the need for quantitative evaluation of these characteristics is important. At present the attempt is quite often made to determine the degree of satisfaction of married couples with marital and family relations by means of a direct question--"Are you satisfied with your marriage?" It is obvious, however, that such a procedural technique does not eliminate the influence on the answers of the respondents of their mood and present problems. The method cited by Sysenko of cumulative evaluations of the responses to a number of indirect questions is a significantly more precise tool for the characterization of the satisfaction with marriage. Although the method is not void of some shortcomings (the author of the monograph admits this himself [p 68]), it made it possible to obtain very interesting results, on the basis of which Sysenko developed, in particular, an original typology of family relations.

The questionnaire section, which reveals the appraisal of the satisfaction of women with married life, reduces, for the most part, to two large blocks of questions. The first determines the degree of satisfaction of the wife with the way of life of the husband (p 67), the second--the participation of the husband in the running of the household (p 86). While admitting the indisputable importance of the noted aspects of the satisfaction with marriage, at the same time it should be stressed: the two mentioned characterizations are obviously inadequate for the description of the entire range of marital interrelations. The choice of precisely these aspects of family life was dictated, apparently, by their object-effective essence. However, an adequately complete description of the situations encountered in marriage is possible only as a result of special studies. The lack of such a scientifically sound list, probably, also explains the fact that the wordings of some questions of the block (for example, "To what extent do you approve of the way of life of your husband?") are vague, abstract and hard to interpret. In the block, which reveals the satisfaction of the wife with how her husband participates in household chores, there are also vague and hard to understand wordings (for example, "the organization of relaxation and leisure"), while some questions are excessively detailed. The object-effective nature of the questions can be explained, apparently, by the desire to obtain in a single study both an appraisal of satisfactions and a picture of the breakdown of family and everyday duties. However, the responses of the women frequently do not reveal their actual attitude toward the

participation of their husband in the types of labor, which are listed in the questionnaire. It is unclear what the female respondents means when they approve of the extent of the participation of their spouses in the maintenance of the apartment or in the washing and ironing of laundry. It is highly probable that they are content with the fact that their husband does not repair the apartment and iron the laundry himself, that is, does not undertake work which he does not know how to do.

In order to avoid these shortcomings, it is expedient to reject the appraisal of marital relations by the analysis of the object-effective aspect of family life. Sysenko notes that the perception and appraisal of the marital situation by wives can be "very, very subjective" (p 58). This is often connected, in his opinion, with their desire to embellish the role of the husband in family matters. With the rejection of the accomplishment of two tasks in a single study and the shift of attention only to the satisfaction with the marital situation, subjectivity must not be regarded as a negative thing: in reality when studying the attitude of the individual toward the marital situation the real content of the latter is of secondary importance. The problem consists in the most complete identification of the subjective appraisal, since precisely it serves as an objective characterization of the satisfaction with marriage, with the marital situation.

In our opinion, it is expedient to improve the method developed by Sysenko, assigning the central part of the questionnaire to the identification of the appraisal by the respondent of the personality qualities of the marriage partner. The entire set of interpersonal relations of the married couple, which determine the satisfaction with the marital situation as a whole, is reflected precisely in the perception of personality qualities. Such an appraisal is quite universal and fully takes into account, in particular, the object-effective aspects of married life. For example, the noninvolvement of the husband in the running of the household can be perceived by the wife as laziness, unreliability; the reluctance to engage in the raising of children is transformed in the consciousness and is perceived as the dislike of the children and emotional callousness.

The draft questionnaire proposed by us (see the Appendix) is based on a list of semantic constellations of all the positive personality qualities existing in the Russian language /6/, from which the ones important for the appraisal of the degree of satisfaction with the marital situation were selected. Moreover, alternative negative personality qualities were added to the questionnaire. Along with the first appraisal group, which covers the internal interpersonal aspects of married life, the questionnaire contains a second appraisal group, which includes various factors "external" to the marriage (that is, which are not directly connected with the personalities of the spouses), which influence family life.

The process of the appraisal by the respondent of the personality qualities of the marriage partner (appraisal group 1) and the circumstances of family life (appraisal group 2) passes through two stages. At the first stage the respondent is required to fill in column 1 of the questionnaire, having rated the listed qualities of the spouse and the circumstances of family life in conformity with the following scale: This quality of the spouse (circumstance of family life) ...is of no importance for you in married life (0) ...is of some importance (1) ...is of importance (2) ...is of great importance (3) ...is of exceptionally great importance (4).

At the next stage the respondent appraises the degree of the presence of the listed qualities in his partner and the circumstances of family life, filling in columns 2 and 3 in conformity with the following scale: ...the attributes, qualities, circumstances exist (1) ...the quality, circumstance exists (2) ...the quality, circumstance is pronounced (3) ...the quality, circumstance is extremely pronounced (4). If the quality or attribute is absent, the presence of the corresponding negative attribute is appraised in column 3 according to the same scale.

The completed questionnaire is a scale of the subjective values of the marital situation (the appraisal of the degree of apparent importance for the respondent of each quality and circumstance at the time of the study)--column 1; a scale of the subjective appraisals of the presence of positive and negative qualities and circumstances of his marital situation--columns 2 and 3. The processing of the questionnaire makes it possible to obtain the following generalized indicators.

1. The /level of demandingness/ [in boldface] of the respondent with respect to the marital situation is a generalized indicator which is calculated for the appraisal of the level of the subjective needs, the meeting of which the respondent is seeking in marriage. Having filled in column 1 of the questionnaire, the person being surveyed forms a subjective-cognitive model of the marital situation, in which, in his opinion, he would receive the maximum satisfaction. Let us use the dispersion method for calculating the generalized appraisal of demandingness. Then the indicator of the level of demandingness will be equal to:

$$d = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n K_i^2}{n},$$

where K_i is the point values of the appraisals of the importance of quality or circumstance i (column 1 of the questionnaire); n is the number of qualities and circumstances in the questionnaire.

The cited equation makes it possible to calculate the level of demandingness on the personality qualities of the marriage partner and on the circumstances of family life and the overall demandingness on the marital situation.

The choice as an indicator of the dispersion and not the linear (for example, arithmetic mean or cumulative) characteristic is connected with the need to take into account in the generalized indicator the fact that any person has specific positive qualities, but people, in whom the individual qualities are pronounced, are rarely encountered. Let us cite an example of the effect of the mechanism of the consideration of the nonequilibrium of demands. Assume that the respondent appraisal by importance some six items (qualities) in the following manner--2; 2; 2; 2; 2; 2, that is, all the qualities for him "are of importance. Another person surveyed appraised these qualities--4; 0; 4; 0; 4; 0 (0--"is of no importance"; 4--"is of exceptionally great importance"). Obviously, although the arithmetic means of the appraisals are equal, the first respondent is less demanding on the marital situation than the second, and his profile of appraisals should have a higher index. The calculation of the dispersion characteristics yields: $d = (6 \cdot 2^2)/6 = 4$ (for the first profile); $d = (3 \cdot 4^2 + 3 \cdot 0)/6 = 8$ (for the second).

The processing of a sufficiently large array of factual data will make it possible to establish the average level of demandingness on the marital situation (the normal demandingness) and thereby to determine the cases of excessive or too low claims against the spouse and the marriage as a whole.

2. /Profile of Satisfaction With the Marital Situation/ [in boldface]. In order to determine this indicator, it is proposed to compare the appraisals of the presence of some quality and the importance of the latter for the respondent, that is, to calculate the indicator of satisfaction for each quality and circumstance as:

$$C = K_i \cdot P_i,$$

where K_i is the appraisal of the importance of a quality or circumstance for the respondent (the point rating in column 1), P_i is the appraisal by the respondent of the degree of presence of quality or circumstance i (the point rating in column 2 or 3).

Having thus calculated the values of the indicator of satisfaction for all the qualities and circumstances (here a minus sign is assigned to the indicator of satisfaction, which is connected with a negative quality or circumstance), we will obtain a profile of the appraisals of the marital situation by the respondent.

3. /Generalized Index of Satisfaction; Generalized Index of Stability/ [in boldface]. It is also proposed to use the dispersion method for determining the first index. The level (index) of satisfaction of the respondent with the marital situation will be equal to:

$$Y = \sum_{i=1}^l (C_i^+)^2 - \sum_{j=1}^m (C_j^-)^2,$$

where C_i^+ is the appraisal of the degree of satisfaction with a positive quality or circumstance (the product of the appraisals in columns 1 and 2); C_j^- is the appraisal of the degree of dissatisfaction with a negative quality or circumstance (the product of the appraisals in columns 1 and 3); l and m are the presence of positive and negative qualities and circumstances.

Thus, the index of satisfaction, following the approach of Sysenko (p 69), is the balance of the generalized positive and negative features of the marital situation. Although the scale of satisfaction, which was constructed on the basis of the proposed indices, is not strictly an interval one, it will probably conform to the attributes of the "quasi-interval" scale [7], that is, it will be possible by means of it to make a strict serial and a less strict interval categorization of the degree of satisfaction with the marital situation. It is necessary to note that it is impossible, apparently, to identify the scale of indices of satisfaction with the scale of stability, since it is unknown whether the zero satisfaction (the equality of the positive and negative dispersion appraisals) will correspond to the "zero stability" of the spouse in the marriage.

Of course, the use of the system of twofold appraisals (first the appraisal of the importance of the personality quality or circumstance for the respondent, and only

then of their presence) should provide a more objective characterization of the status of the respondent in the marriage than the direct appraisal of satisfaction. However, it should be kept in mind that when conducting such studies every woman to one extent or another tries "to embellish the true situation and degree of her attitude toward her husband" (p 68). For the conversion of the indices of the scale of satisfaction into an index of stability it is necessary to specify on the scale of satisfaction the "absolute zero," which conforms to that index of satisfaction, in case of which the "stability" of the respondent in the marriage is equal to zero. The search for this index should be based on the processing of the statistical data obtained when surveying respondents with an obviously known "zero stability," for example, those who have submitted an application for dissolution of the marriage.

The proposed indices and method of determining them can be used not only for the improvement of the typology developed by Sysenko, but also for a test on the experimental determination of the effectiveness of various measures in the area of the stabilization of marriage (the preparation of young people for marriage, the activity of marriage and family advice bureaus and so on). The need for such tools is very urgent both for the further development of that trend of our sociology of the family, which is represented by Sysenko's monograph, and for the practical activity of the institutions which are called upon to provide the necessary socioeconomic support and psychological assistance to married couples.

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APPENDIX

Satisfaction With Marriage (A Questionnaire)*

* Information on the respondent and his family: age, sex, length of married life, nationality, education, children, number of marriage, social status, assistance of older generation and so on.

I. Group of Appraisal of Personality Qualities of Marriage Partner

1	2 3
flexibility, adaptability to circumstances of life	inability to adapt to circumstances of life
knowledge of life, experience	lack of knowledge of life
beauty, charm, attractiveness	lack of outward attractiveness
smartness, quickness	lack of quickness
practicality in domestic affairs	household impracticality
erudition, high cultural level	low cultural level
wit, sense of humor	lack of sense of humor
industriousness	lack of industriousness
versatility, variety of interests	one-sidedness of interests
strength, endurance	physical underdevelopment
restraint, self-control	lack of restraint
intelligence, keen wits	lack of keen wits
sense of the beautiful	lack of artistic taste
emotionality	indifference
vigor	passivity
civic spirit	indifference to public affairs
exactness, punctuality	inefficiency
efficiency, practicality	impracticality
thriftiness, love of family, children	egotism
interest in art	lack of interest in art
love of nature	indifference toward nature
love of one's occupation	indifference toward one's occupation
inquisitiveness, love of knowledge	sloth
silence	verbosity, talkativeness
neatness, cleanness	slovenliness
optimism, joie de vivre	pessimism
adherence to principle, consistency	lack of principles
talkativeness, sociability	seclusiveness
independence, love of freedom	lack of independence
independence of opinions	dogmatism
good sense	frivolousness
abidance of laws, respect of the rules of socialist community life	disrespect for laws, generally accepted norms of behavior
moderation in use of alcoholic beverages	penchant for spirits
labor zeal	laziness

/Continued on following page/

1	2 3
thrift, economy	extravagance
consistency of aim	lack of will
unselfishness, magnanimity	self-interest
loyalty, devotion	lack of devotion, unreliability
healthy ambition	envy
kindness, responsiveness	lack of sensitivity, kindness
love, respect of parents	disrespect of parents
kind-heartedness, complaisance	severity of character, obstinacy
lack of suspicion, trustfulness	suspicion, distrust
gratitude, thankfulness	ingratitude
simplicity, modesty	affectation, pretentiousness
sincerity, truthfulness	insincerity, mendacity
self-criticalness	self-confidence
sense of duty, conscience	irresponsibility
impartiality, objectivity	inobjectivity, partiality
gentleness, leniency	coarseness
respect of people, courtesy	impoliteness, discourtesy
virtuosity, purity	dissoluteness
honesty, integrity	dishonesty, dishonorability
sense of own worth	lack of sense of own worth
generosity, hospitality	greed

II. Group of Appraisal of Circumstances of Family Life

1	2 3
good wage of husband	inadequate wage of husband
good wage of wife	inadequate wage of wife
good housing conditions	poor housing conditions
existence of interesting job for husband, which gives moral satisfaction	uninteresting job for husband
existence of interesting job for wife, which gives moral satisfaction	uninteresting job for wife
assistance of relatives of husband	lack of assistance on the part of relatives of husband
assistance of relatives of wife	lack of assistance on the part of relatives of wife
existence of sufficient free time for husband	lack of free time for husband
existence of sufficient free time for wife	lack of free time for wife
opportunity for husband to continue education	impossibility for husband to continue education
opportunity for wife to continue education	impossibility for wife to continue education
opportunity for husband to improve skills	lack of such an opportunity

/Continued on following page/

1	2	3
opportunity for wife to improve skills		lack of such an opportunity
reasonable obedience of children		disobedience of children
opportunity to use children's institutions		lack of such an opportunity
separate living from parents of husband		cohabitation
separate living from parents of wife		cohabitation
opportunity to engage in sports		lack of such an opportunity
opportunity for sound relaxation of husband		lack of such an opportunity
opportunity for sound relaxation of wife		lack of such an opportunity

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BOOK REVIEWS

DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY IN THE USSR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 204-205

/Review by G. P. Kiseleva of book "Demograficheskaya politika v SSSR" /Demographic Policy in the USSR/ by A. Ya. Kvasha, Finansy i statistika, Moscow, 1981, 200 pages/

/Text/ In Soviet literature quite a large number of works, which are devoted to various aspects of demographic policy in our country and abroad, have been published in recent years. However, so far there have been no special studies on this most important theme, in which domestic developments of recent years have been reflected. The monograph "Demograficheskaya politika v SSSR" /Demographic Policy in the USSR/, which is of interest not only for demographers, but also for sociologists, economists, lawyers and other specialists, who are studying the problems of the development of the population and the questions of the elaboration of an effective demographic policy, was greeted with all the more interest.

A. Ya. Kvasha clearly differentiates two aspects of demographic processes: the existing demographic situation and the general trends of the development of the mentioned processes. The deviation of the general trends of the development of the population from that level of them, which meets the long-term interests of the development of society, is interpreted by the author as the aggravation of the demographic situation (p 12). Today it finds expression in the decline of the birth rate, the halt of the increase of the life expectancy, and at times even its decrease, unfavorable changes of the age structure of the population and the rapid rate of the aging of the latter, the existence of migration flows, which frequently are inefficient in size and directions, and the substantial increase of divorces.

When analyzing general demographic trends it is necessary to take into account the historically established conditions of the development of the country. It is necessary to emphasize that A. Ya. Kvasha was the first among domestic researchers to use back in 1971 the concept of demographic transition¹ for the analysis of the long-term trends of the reproduction of the population of our country. In the work being reviewed he introduces new elements into this concept and along with the evolution of the birth rate and the death rate examines the trends of population

1. The essence of this concept is that the population in its development under the influence of socioeconomic factors passes through a number of stages, to each of which correspond a specific type of demographic behavior and a different intensity of the birth rate and death rate.

migration and analyzes the changes in the functions of the family. Particular attention is devoted in the work to the study of the advantages of the socialist type of population reproduction (pp 43-46).

A promising hypothesis concerning the subsequent stages of demographic transition is advanced and substantiated in the work. The author suggests that in the future so-called zero population growth may be one of the versions of the development of the population. The convergence of the intensity of the birth rate and death rate and the absence of significant internal migration and disproportions in the age structure of the population, which are characteristic of the type of population reproduction, in case of which its size remains invariable or increases at a very negligible rate, can be achieved by the middle of the next century. In the monograph it is emphasized that the stabilization of the size of the population in the future should not be viewed only for a negative position, since a high level of socioeconomic development even in the case of a low rate of natural population reproduction makes it possible to improve from every point of view such qualitative characteristics of it as the educational level, vocational training, the state of health and so on.

Basing himself on the concept of the controllability of demographic processes, the author examines in detail the general principles of demographic policy. Here it is possible to distinguish several important things. First of all there is the problem of the criteria of the evaluation of effectiveness. A. Ya. Kvasha shows the incorrectness of the direct comparison of the expenditures on some measures or others and the economic impact obtained as a result of their implementation without the consideration of the social aspects. The author defines this indicator as "the achievement of the goals set by the initiators of the policy in the historically shortest possible time with the minimum economic expenditures with the observance of the social norms prevailing in society" (p 176).

In the monograph the problem of the contradictoriness of the reproductive and labor functions of the family is analyzed in depth and the conclusion is drawn that under present conditions the policy of placing the raising of children entirely in the hands of society, as some demographers propose, in the economic sense is untenable, and, what is the most important thing, it is also irrational from a sociopsychological standpoint.

While defining the goal of demographic policy as the formation of the optimum type of population reproduction, A. Ya. Kvasha studies in detail contemporary models of this type. For the USSR, in the author's opinion, so-called slightly expanded reproduction with a net coefficient within the range of 1.0-1.3 is the best.² However, unfortunately, the author obviously devotes inadequate attention to the elaboration of the parameters of the optimum type of population reproduction and the procedural principles of the forecasting of the consequences of certain

2. The net coefficient of reproduction shows on the average how many girls, who were given birth to by a woman during the child-bearing period, live to that age as which their mother was when each of the daughters was born. This coefficient also gives an idea, in what quantitative ratio (under the existing conditions of the birth rate and death rate) the generation of parents is replaced by the generation of children, or, more precisely, the generation of mothers is replaced by the generation of daughters.

measures or others, which are aimed at the optimization of demographic policy. Meanwhile, such methods are extremely necessary: for it is important to foresee not only the direct, but also the indirect effect. For instance, the increase of paid postnatal leave, on the one hand, can stimulate the birth rate and promote the improvement of the health of children and, on the other, can decrease the level of employment of women in social production and aggravate the shortage of manpower resources.

It should also be noted that the author is not always consistent in the use of a number of basic concepts. For example, in the first chapter when analyzing the trends of demographic processes he bases himself on a broad interpretation of the term "population reproduction," including in this concept not only the processes of the natural movement of the population (the birth rate, death rate, marriage rate, divorce rate) and the processes of migration, but also the reproduction of practically all the structures of the population. Such a broad approach makes the object of the study a nonspecific one, which goes far beyond demographic science. Not without reason in the third chapter does the very logic of the analysis lead the author to its actual rejection, and here in reality only the natural movement of the population is examined.

On the whole the monograph of A. Ya. Kvasha is a substantial contribution to the elaboration of the theory and practice of demographic policy in the USSR.

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CONTEMPORARY SOVIET WORKERS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 205-206

/Review by Yu. K. Ivanov and A. N. Kolesnikov of book "Sovremennyye sovetskiye rabochiye" /Contemporary Soviet Workers/ by V. A. Chulanov, Mysl', Moscow, 1980, 215 pages/

/Not translated by JPRS/

INNOVATIONS IN ORGANIZATIONS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 207-208

/Review by V. I. Antonyuk and P. V. Baranov of book "Innovations in Organizations" by I. Perlaki, translated from Slovak, Ekonomika, Moscow, 1981, 144 pages/

/Not translated by JPRS/

SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 208-209

/Review by M. Kh. Titma and P. O. Kenkmann of book "Sotsiologiya obrazovaniya" /Sociology of Education/ by F. R. Filippov, Nauka, Moscow, 1980, 197 pages/

/Not translated by JPRS/

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MASS COMMUNICATIONS IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 210-212

/Review by O. M. Maslova of books "Massovaya kommunikatsiya v sotsialisticheskom obshchestve" /Mass Communications in Socialist Society/, Nauka, Leningrad, 1979, 242 pages; "Chelovek sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva i protsessy massovoy kommunikatsii. Materialy vtorogo sovetsko-vengerskogo simpoziuma" /The Man of Socialist Society and the Processes of Mass Communications. Materials of the Second Soviet-Hungarian Symposium/, Budapest-Leningrad, 1979, 150 pages; "Materialy tret'yego sovetsko-vengerskogo simpoziuma" /Materials of the Third Soviet-Hungarian Symposium/, Budapest-Leningrad, 1980, 230 pages/

/Text/ Four creative meetings of sociologists of the Center for the Study of Mass Communications of Hungarian Radio and Television and staff members of a number of scientific institutions of our country (the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems and the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee, the Higher Komsomol School attached to the Komsomol Central Committee and others) were held in Budapest and Leningrad from 1976 to 1980. The materials of the reports and discussions, which were the basis for the collective monograph and the two collections, demonstrate the fruitfulness of the purposeful coordination of the research of sociologists of the socialist countries.

The development of mass communications is directly connected with scientific and technical progress. The electronic transmission of communications, the cable relay of telecasts, relay stations in space, the connection of communication channels to information systems with a dialogue mode, which make it possible to use various data banks efficiently--these and many other technical achievements have increased immeasurably the possibilities of mass communications in the modern world.

At the same time, as T. (Sechke) (director of the Center for the Study of Mass Communications of Hungarian Radio and Television) convincingly demonstrates, owing precisely to the increase of the technical possibilities the process of mass communication is now of a pronounced political nature. The problems of international legal regulation, national sovereignty and cultural independence are more and more frequently at the center of attention of the participants in present discussions on the use of technical innovations. "The Declaration of Mass Communications," which was adopted by UNESCO in 1979, is one of the first steps in this direction.

The increase of the political and ideological importance of mass communications has made extremely urgent research in the area of spiritual contact and the exchange of social information. At present the work of sociological subdivisions attached to information centers is a necessary condition of practical activity on the generation and dissemination of information.

As a whole the theoretical and methodological problems of the study of mass communications take up considerable space in the works being reviewed. The authors examine the Marxist underlying principles of the concept of mass communications, in conformity with which this process is an objective law of social development (N. N. Tsvetayeva), the questions of the formation of the theory of the means of mass communication and its conceptual apparatus (A. N. Alekseyev), make an examination of the subject of the forecasting studies of mass communications, appraise the potentials of the reflective-active approach to the analysis of the processes of spiritual contact (V. V. Maksimov) and propose the substantiation of the most urgent tasks in the indicated area (T. (Sechke)). The elaboration of the basic methodological principles makes it possible to establish the concrete historical nature of the interrelationship between technology, mass communications and social systems, the relationship of spiritual contact with the way of life.

The strength of Marxist doctrine, as B. M. Firsov (chief of the Sector of Mass Communications of the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences) lies in the fact that, by overcoming the abstract interpretation of the "man-equipment" system, it establishes a really existing interrelationship: the type of society--equipment--man under specific social conditions. The objective analysis and adequate interpretation of the operation of the means of mass communications, as well as of its social consequences are possible only in the context of the political and ideological tasks and goals of those classes and groups, which are at the head of society. Hence arises a complicated set of theoretical and practical problems, which are connected with the functions of mass communications, the conditions of their implementation and the effectiveness of information inputs.

The spheres of public life, among which economics occupies a leading place, are the most essential criterion of the distinction of the social functions of the means of mass communications in socialist society. This point of view is presented in the article of V. S. Korobeynikov (chief of the Sector of Public Opinion of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences), "The Functions of the Means of Mass Communications in Socialist Society." At the same time, the means of influence of mass communications on various areas of social practice, for example, can act as the bases for the determination of the functions. In particular, the materials of the empirical studies conducted by the author attest that the means of mass communications serve as a tool for stepping up public interest--a prerequisite of the emergence of public opinion, at the subsequent stages of the formation of which mass communications ensure its dissemination, intensity and stability. The regulatory function of the means of mass communications appears here. The results of the studies of the audience of the means of mass communications, which were conducted by Hungarian sociologists, confirm these conclusions (the article of G. Lazar, "The Influence of Means of Information on the Formation of the Interest of the Population in Foreign Political Events").

K. (Hanak) reveals the content of the educational function of mass communications under the conditions of the mechanism of the spread of knowledge and the system of

education, which exist in Hungary, as well as in connection with the needs and traditions of the population and the perception of culture by different social strata and groups. The article of V. R. Ledovskaya, "The Means of the Dissemination of Information and Culture in the Working Class Audience," which was written on the basis of the materials of an empirical study in Moscow and Kuybyshev, has something in common with this theme.

The study of the functions of mass communications is necessary for the successful solution of the problem of the effectiveness of the purposeful information activity of society. It is impossible to examine the influence of the means of mass communications on the public conscience, it is emphasized in the article of T. (Sechke), "On the Concept of the Effectiveness of Mass Communications," only in the framework of the interrelations between the sources of information and their audience. The more extensive coverage of social reality, which is connected with the operation of mass communications, and the study of the means by which the norms and values, which are disseminated by the means of mass communications, are reflected on the macrolevels of the consciousness of society, are required. The identification of the possibilities of forming and developing the spiritual needs of the audience, as well as of meeting the latter is an important direction of the analysis of the effectiveness of the means of mass communications.

The inclusion of a broad social context in the study of mass communications presumes the use of the principles of the systems approach. The experience of implementing these principles in empirical research is generalized in the article of N. S. Mansurov (chief of the Department of Sociological Studies of Ideological Processes of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences), "The Systems Approach to the Study of the Means of Mass Information and Cultural Institutions."

The problems of the planning and forecasting of the processes of spiritual contact and the interconnection of mass communications and the way of life are also at the center of attention of the Soviet-Hungarian collective of authors. What models of the way of life do the means of mass communication spread? What are the social and sociopsychological mechanisms of their assimilation and implementation? K. (Hanak) advances a hypothesis about three phases of the succession of the models suggested by the means of mass communications: imitation, the borrowing of values and identification. It is obvious that a comprehensive analysis, which for the present does not have an analogue, of the content of the flow of information, which is relayed by the means of mass communications, for the purpose of identifying the stereotypes of behavior, values, norms and so on is necessary for the confirmation of this hypothesis.

In the article of V. A. Yadov (chief of the Sector of the Socialist Way of Life of the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences) it is noted that social communities of different levels--a people, a class, a social group--act as the subject of /the way of life/ /in boldface/, while personality as social individuality acts as the subject of /the style of life/ /In boldface/. Such an approach makes it possible to study a twofold process: on the one hand, the convergence of the communication aspects of the way of life of all groups of the population and, on the other, the increase of the diversity of the individual peculiarities of information activity, which stems from personality abilities,

inclinations and interests. In this connection the problem of constructing indicators of the individualization of the style of life arises.

From the point of view of the legitimacy of the elaborated concepts, the empirical studies of the influence of mass communications on various spheres of social practice: interpersonal contact (R. Tardos), the formation of the budget of time of modern man (N. Chasova), the system of notions of people about individual means of mass communications (D. (Hunyadi), K. (Perzhe)), merit special attention.

The Soviet and Hungarian sociologists touch upon another urgent, but poorly studied problem: the formation of the social demand for the elaboration of forecasts. Who needs long-range plans of radio and television? (Z. (Yakab)). What are the alternatives in the planning of mass communications? (P. Tamas). What factors decrease the reliability of planning and how does the content of plans and forecasts correlate with the system of the standard goals of the subject of management? (K. (Hanak)). What specific means of increasing the reliability of a forecast does the sociologist have today? (B. Z. Doktorov). The search for answers to these questions enables the authors to give a comprehensive analysis of the interrelations of specialists in this field with clients and consumers.

In the articles it is noted that the practical significance of plans and forecasts for the present is not great. In a number of instances it is connected with the inadequately high scientific level of the proposed developments, at times with the reorganization of information centers. However, the main cause of this situation consists in the limitation of resources and the underestimation by the client of the importance of this type of research activity. The analysis of the factors, which decrease the effectiveness of forecasts, serves for the authors as the basis of the search for and the elaboration of constructive methodological decisions and procedural recommendations, which is especially topical in light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress on the increase of the effectiveness of scientific research.

The examined works are rich in theoretical ideas, contain a generalization of a wide range of empirical studies of mass communications in Hungary and the USSR and serve as an example of the successful implementation of the principles of scientific cooperation of social scientists of the socialist countries.

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MAN, FREE TIME, TRADE UNIONS

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/Review by G. A. Yevteyeva of book "Chelovek, svobodnoye vremya i profsoyuzy" /Man, Free Time and Trade Unions/, edited by N. P. Pishchulin, Profizdat, Moscow, 1980, 256 pages/

/Text/ A comprehensive approach to the problems in question distinguished the work written by a collective of authors under the supervision of N. P. Pishchulin. This made it possible to extend the understanding of the social essence and importance of free time both for the all-round harmonious development of the personality of man under socialism and for the increase of his labor and social potential. The reserves of the increase of the total amount of free time and the role of public and state institutions in the optimization of the budget of time as a whole and free time in particular are revealed in the book. All this dictates the considerable theoretical and practical interests in this study, especially as many assumptions and conclusions, undoubtedly, will be useful for the practice of organizing and pedagogical work.

Among the new theoretical approaches proposed by the authors the seven-membered classification of the types of activity within the budget of free time attracts attention. In spite of several debatable items (largely owing to the inadequate study of the social and educational aspects of the problem), the new classification is a step forward as compared with those previously elaborated. The view of labor in the household as a special type of productive labor, which creates use value and, hence, national income, here is theoretically valuable and promising.

While distinguishing quite legitimately the recreational and developmental functions of free time, V. D. Patrushev emphasizes that the same type of activity can be bifunctional. This assumption is especially important from a pedagogical standpoint.

The distinction of emotional and communicative pursuits in the structure of activity during free time would have also been desirable, for they promote both the restoration and the development of physical and intellectual powers and create one emotional atmosphere or another, which stimulates or suppresses. There is another remark: the consistent application of the theses of K. Marx about the content and functions of free time requires, in our opinion, the assignment of creative pursuits not to leisure, but to increased activity.

The material presented in the book, which is devoted to the characterization of the basic directions of the work of Soviet and Bulgarian trade unions on the increase of labor productivity as the basis of the shortening of the workday and the increase of nonworking and free time, is interesting. The authors reveal the importance of production activity in the process of forming the way of life, spiritual interests and needs of people. Not without reason is special attention devoted to socialist competition as a form of the creative attitude toward labor. Among the other problems of the interrelationship of socialist competition with free time N. P. Pishchulin examines two basic means of their mutual enrichment: direct (through the inclusion in the competition of various types of activity during free time) and mediated (through the improvement of technical, economic, cultural and everyday conditions, which step up the most valuable types of activity during free time).

The analysis of the measures aimed at the social development of labor collectives arouses great interest. And although the group of questions being examined is quite broad (the means of improving the skills and social structure of the collective, the assurance of labor safety and hygiene, the increase of labor and political activity, the development of inventing and rationalization, the improvement of social, everyday and cultural conditions, moral education and others), the influence of the transition to a 5-day work week on the structure of the pursuits of workers during nonworking and free time remained outside the field of view of the authors. This is an indisputable error of the authors of the book.

In the monograph the problem of increasing the total amount of free time through the development of services and the improvement of daily life is examined in detail, the organizational means of improving the municipal and personal service of the workers are revealed on the basis of the experience of Bulgarian trade unions. In this section of the book it is shown well how the decrease of household labor by means of the sphere of personal services, as well as of the time for buying goods and traveling to work and back entails an increase of the amounts of free time and, hence, the extension of the opportunities for recreation. The very important question of the effectiveness of the use of free time is raised here. However, the criteria proposed by P. Petkov for the evaluation of this effectiveness, in our opinion, are unconvincingly proven.

Special attention is devoted to the ideological educational work of trade unions, which is carried out in close contact with state and other public organizations. In generalizing the experience of the practical activity of labor collectives on the increase of the level of the general educational and vocational training of workers, the stimulation of their amateur technical and artistic creative work and the development of community activity, tourism and sports, the authors outline means of the further improvement of the work of trade unions under the direction of party organizations. Here the questions of the development of the network of sanatorium and health resort service of the workers and the stepping up of the struggle against anticultural and antisocialist phenomena in the sphere of free time are not overlooked. At the same time it would have been worthwhile for the authors to devote more attention to the psychological and educational questions of the social control of the use of free time. The purposeful formation of progressive structures of pursuits among different groups of workers on the basis of a differentiated approach is important in the context of the socialist way of life. This aspect of the analysis of the problem should have been an essential component

of the study. Not without reason are nearly all the weak points of the book connected in one way or another with questions of educational guidance in the sphere of free time. For example, the assertion of N. P. Pishchulin (p 70) about the increase of the proportion of publicly organized forms of pastime during free time under the influence of the educational and organizing activity of the labor collective seems erroneous. On the contrary, with an increase of the level of skills and overall culture this proportion decreases. The data obtained, for example, by A. V. Netsenko [1] attest to this.

In conclusion it is impossible not to note that, in spite of a number of errors (which are quite natural for the present state of the problem), the new book on free time is a substantial contribution to the development of the theory and practice of the building of socialism and will be useful to scientists and experienced workers.

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FREE TIME OF WORKERS UNDER MODERN CAPITALISM

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 214-215

/Review by B. P. Kutyrev and V. D. Patrushev of book "Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskiye problemy svobodnogo vremeni trudyashchikhsya v usloviyakh sovremennogo kapitalizma" /Socioeconomic Problems of the Free Time of Workers Under the Conditions of Modern Capitalism/ by B. I. Dubson, Nauka, Moscow, 1980, 200 pages/

/Not translated by JPRS/

CONTEMPORARY BOURGEOIS THEORIES OF SOCIAL REVOLUTION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 215-216

/Review by V. I. Gantman of book "Sovremennyye burzhuaznyye teorii sotsial'noy revolyutsii" /Contemporary Bourgeois Theories of Social Revolution/ by M. L. Gavlin and L. A. Kazakova, Nauka, Moscow, 1980, 165 pages/

/Not translated by JPRS/

SOCIOCULTURAL ORIENTATIONS IN CONTEMPORARY BOURGEOIS PHILOSOPHY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 216-217

/Review by S. A. Efirov of book "Kritika sotsiokul'turnykh oriyentatsiy v sovremennoy burzhuaznoy filosofii: stsiyentizm i antistsiyentizm" /Criticism of the Socio-cultural Orientations in Contemporary Bourgeois Philosophy: Scientism and Antiscientism/ by V. G. Fedotova, Nauka, Moscow, 1981, 192 pages/

/Not translated by JPRS/

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EFFECT OF THE MICROENVIRONMENT

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 pp 218-219

/Review by N. M. Blinov of book "Efekt na mikrosredata" /The Effect of the Micro-environment/ by S. Mikhaylov, Nauka i izkustvo, Sofia, 1980, 145 pages/

/Text/ In educational work it is necessary not only to clearly distinguish its goals and to determine the most effective methods. It is important to take into account the influence on man of those social structures in which he is directly involved in the process of vital activity. The study of the personality as an object of education and its social environment is an urgent problem of Marxist sociology. The monograph being reviewed by well-known Bulgarian scholar S. Mikhaylov touches upon a number of little studied aspects of the interaction of ideological activity and the social environment.

Basing himself on the generalization of the experience of educational work in Bulgaria, the author raises the questions of the optimization of the microsocial environment in ideological work, reveals the mechanism, describes the spheres and directions of this process and outlines means of the intensification of the struggle against deviations from the norms of the socialist way of life, against vestiges of the past in the consciousness and behavior of people, as well as the improvement of the positive influence of the microsocial environment on the formation of the personality.

In conformity with Marxist tradition, Mikhaylov turns to a systems analysis of the role of the immediate conditions of the vital activity of people and proposes a conceptual scheme of the social environment and of its interaction with ideological and educational activity. The author considers it necessary, for example, to include various spiritual aspects of the social environment in the ideological process and to delimit in this connection the concepts "ideology," "ideological work" and "the cultivation of the personality" according to their place in the spiritual life of man.

The social indicators of ideological influence, which are proposed by the author, as well as the structure of this influence: 1) agitational and propagandistic information, which it is necessary to report to people; 2) the social institution as the subject of ideological influence; 3) the means and forms of influence; 4) the direction and object of ideological influence; 5) the results of ideological influence (pp 57-59), in our opinion, are of great importance for the theory and practice of sociological studies of ideological work. The proposed

classification, to be sure, will promote the enhancement of the role of ideological work in the formation of socialist consciousness and will make it possible to use sociological studies more effectively, in particular, when analyzing the influence on man of his immediate environment.

The interpretation of the microenvironment is interesting in this respect. In the opinion of the author, it includes the set of those elements and aspects of the social environment, with which the specific individual comes into direct contact in the process of all his vital activity (pp105-107). Thus, contact acts as its basic distinctive property. The subsystems of the microenvironment (from the place of residence to the place of work) are also distinguished on the basis of this attribute. Moreover, in the opinion of Mikhaylov, with reference to the personality one should give not a classification of the various types of microenvironment, but should establish and structurize its elements as an integral object. Unfortunately, this important and meaningful idea did not receive proper development in the book, especially as such an approach is of a debatable nature.

When working on the problem of the interrelationship of ideological and educational activity with specific circumstances of life, Mikhaylov, unlike the majority of authors, does not limit himself only to the question of the coordination or lack of coordination of ideological influence and objective conditions. He introduces into scientific circulation the new concept "the effect of the microenvironment," which, in our opinion, makes it possible to analyze more thoroughly and comprehensively the mechanism of the perception of ideological influence. The term "the effect of the microenvironment" means that situation in which the microenvironment and, in particular, contact relations are included in the educational process and promote the affirmation of the positive qualities and aims of the personality in the struggle against deviations from the norms of the socialist way of life. Here the positive potentials of the microenvironment are used most thoroughly and fully in ideological activity (pp 109-110). Basing himself on the assumptions advanced by him, the author examines in detail the mechanism of the formation of the effect of the microenvironment in such spheres of vital activity as work, the family and so on.

In conclusion let us emphasize: the book of S. Mikhaylov will provide a new stimulus to the sociological interpretation and study of educational activity and the process of the formation of the socialist type of personality. At the same time it will make it possible to approach more thoughtfully and comprehensively the practical problems of the optimization of the interaction between the social environment and ideological work.

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ANNOTATIONS OF NEW BOOKS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 82 p 219

/Annotations of new books/

/Text/ Andrianova, T. V., "Metodologicheskiye problemy organizatsii informatsii v oblasti obshchestvennykh nauk" /Methodological Problems of the Organization of Information in the Area of the Social Sciences/, Nauka, Moscow, 1980, 104 pages.

Important methodological questions of scientific information activity are raised in the book: the concepts "primary information" and "secondary information," their interrelationship, gnoseological and social characteristics are examined; the regulatory functions of information with respect to the generation and consumption of scientific knowledge and its role in the system of scientific communications are analyzed; the laws of the institutionalization of secondary scientific information under present conditions are identified. The interpretation by the author of the basic directions of the informational activity of sociologists of England and the United States is of great theoretical and practical importance.

Bokarev, N. N., "Sotsiologicheskiye issledovaniya effektivnosti lektsionnoy propagandy" /Sociological Studies of the Effectiveness of Lecture Propaganda/, Znaniye, Moscow, 1980, 111 pages.

The basic means of studying the effectiveness of oral propaganda are analyzed in the book. On the basis of sociological studies conducted by the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the author shows their role in the increase of the ideological and theoretical level, the improvement of the content and the improvement of the methods of lecture propaganda.

"Trudovoy kollektiv kak ob'yekt i sub'yekt upravleniya" /The Labor Collective as the Object and Subject of Management/, Izdatel'stvo LGU, Leningrad, 1980, 119 pages.

An attempt at a comprehensive examination of the labor collective from an interdisciplinary standpoint (the philosophical-sociological, legal and sociopsychological aspects of management) is made in the book. The data of the sociological studies, which were conducted by the Scientific Research Institute of Complex Social Research attached to Leningrad State University imeni Zhdanov in connection with the drafting of plans of social development at Leningrad enterprises, are used.

Dregalo, A. A. and Ovchinnikov, O. V., "Mir trudovogo kollektiva. (Sotsiologicheskiye ocherki)" [The World of the Labor Collective (Sociological Essays)], Severo-Zapadnoye knizhnoye izdatel'stvo, Arkhangel'sk, 1980, 189 pages.

The means of increasing the social potential of the labor collective using the example of the Arkhangel'sk Pulp and Paper Combine, including the questions of the turnover of personnel, the potential mobility of social groups and the interconnection of mobility and the relations in the collective, the social and everyday problems of the enterprise and the reasons for the social activeness of workers and employees, are revealed.

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